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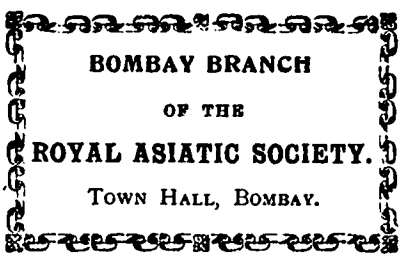

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1589

HISTORY

OF

OUR OWN TIMES.

BY

THE AUTHOR OF

The Court and Times of Frederick the Great.

VOL. I.

Arrest of Louis XVI. at Varennes.

BOMBAY

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER
GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.
1846.

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PREFACE.

IT may be affirmed, without fear of contradiction, that, if we were to search through the whole range of History, we should not find in any period of equal duration so many extraordinary, nay, astounding events as have crowded together in the compass of the last half century, to which the designation of "Our Own Times" is here applied.

It opens with the spectacle of a nation rousing from the lethargy of ages, and reclaiming the rights of which it had been despoiled; of a people reputed the most polished and the most elegant in Europe imbued all at once with a fierce, sanguinary, and inhuman spirit; trampling upon institutions which antiquity had hallowed, and education taught them to revere; of a revolution which, after sacrificing the reigning family in France, and covering the face of that fine country with blood and ruins, enabled a fortunate military adventurer not only to usurp the sovereignty there, but to establish his sway over nearly the whole of the Continent, by a sacrifice of human life which almost

defies calculation; and ended in the return of the proscribed Bourbons to the throne of their ancestors.

It exhibits that same nation, though rent by internal factions and feuds, successfully vindicating its newly-acquired liberties against foreign invaders, whom its rulers, it is true, had most wantonly provoked, and the long train of triumphs won by it over all its continental enemies, till the overweening ambition of the conqueror who had yoked it to his car and dazzled it with the glare of false glory produced his own downfall and its humiliation. It presents, in the cases of Russia and Spain, an animating picture of what national energies, excited by unjust aggression, are capable of accomplishing; and it shows us, in another hemisphere, vast regions breaking the shackles of the mother-state, and, after desperate struggles, successively achieving their independence.

The emancipation of Greece from Turkish thraldom, through the interference of the great Christian powers; the daring but less fortunate insurrection of the Poles; the transfer of the crown of France to a new branch of the house of Bourbon; the erection of a throne in Belgium; and the civil wars in the two divisions of the Spanish Peninsula, kindled by pretenders to their respective crowns, and stained with barbarian cruelty, form more recent features in this great moving drama.

And what shall we say of the commanding attitude assumed and maintained by our own country during this wonderful period! What shall we say of Britain, standing proud and pre-eminent among the nations, as the only one whose hearths and homes were not profaned by the foot of the invader; whose blood and

treasure were poured forth like water in defence of the rights of outraged humanity; whose natural bulwarks, defying the leagued navies of the world, swept them from the ocean; whose perseverance in the combat for life and death was finally crowned with a triumph glorious beyond all example; and whose extended possessions, power, influence, and commerce in every quarter of the globe have made her the object of universal envy!

We see her, great in peace as in war, steadily pursuing the noble career which she has marked out for herself: at home, quietly giving the needful repairs to the antique fabric of her constitution, and encouraging the improvement of the social condition and institutions of her people; abroad, scattering the germs of future empires, and proclaiming in her colonies to all the nations of the earth, republican or monarchical, that slavery cannot exist under the beneficent rule of the British sceptre. Such are the Rights of Man, in behalf of which Britain lifts *her* voice and lavishes *her* treasure!

The French Revolution indeed is and ever will remain one of those great landmarks of History which cannot be contemplated without awe and astonishment. It commences an era distinguished by all that is most sublime and all that is most degrading in human nature, by resplendent virtues and prodigious crimes; an era, the ever-varying realities of which surpass the most daring flights of the wildest imagination; an era in which the destructive machinery of war has been worked on a scale that reminds us of the fabled millions of a Xerxes, or the countless hordes led by an Attila, a Jenghiz Khan, and a Tamerlane; an era in which social improvement

has been advanced by splendid inventions and discoveries in a degree and with a rapidity that have no parallel in the history of mankind.

Amidst these multifarious events, we find sounder principles of government forcing themselves upon rulers, and juster notions of their rights diffused among subjects; and if the ferment which they have excited in men's minds has not every where wholly subsided, we are at least authorised to expect from it in the end results conducive to rational liberty and social happiness.

Such is the era of which the historian of "Our Own Times" aims at furnishing a faithful and impartial record, a book of every-day reference for all classes, to which the young may turn for information, and the old to refresh their memories respecting scenes which they have witnessed, or in which perchance they have even been actors. I have no hesitation to add that my ambition is not limited to this kind of usefulness. At a time when among us principles are openly professed and doctrines actively propagated not very dissimilar to those which led in the neighbour-country to the destruction of the throne, to the proscription of the aristocracy, to the overthrow of the church and of religion itself, to rapine, massacre, and anarchy, in short, to the dissolution of all the ties that bind society together—this picture, methinks, holds forth an awful lesson, fraught with warnings too plain to be mistaken, too solemn to be disregarded.

To the philosophic mind an interesting subject for speculation is presented by the striking contrast between the character of the revolution in England in the seventeenth century and that of the French revolution at

the close of the eighteenth: the one attended with little effusion of blood, beyond that spilt in fair fight; the other stained with sanguinary proscriptions, wholesale butcheries, and unmitigated horrors of every kind. It is a curious observation that in none of the northern nations of Europe who are descended from Teutonic tribes, and derive their languages from one common source — the Germans, the Swedes, the Norwegians, the Danes, the Dutch, and the inhabitants of Great Britain—is there that innate spirit of reckless cruelty which possesses the people of the southern division of our continent, the Italians, the French, the Spaniards, the Portuguese, whose characters and languages spring from the Roman root — a spirit which feels no compunction about means, so they but lead to the proposed end, whether they be poison or the stiletto, dragonnades or the Inquisition, open violence or midnight massacre—a spirit so conspicuous in Cæsar and Napoleon, in the Borgias and Innocent III., in Charles IX. and Philip II., in Louis XIV. and the Paris Septembrisers, in Marat, Danton, and Robespierre.

This essential difference of character, as far as the French and English nations are concerned, had not escaped the discriminating eye of the illustrious Edmund Burke; but it is probable that he had not carried the comparison any further. When, in 1791, the plan of a constitution for Canada was discussed in the House of Commons, Burke admitted that it behoved the British legislature to pay great attention to the constitution of the United States, that the people of Canada might find in it nothing to envy. "But," he continued, "it is plain that they have not the same elements for the

enjoyment of republican freedom which exist in the United States. The people of America have a constitution as well adapted to their character and circumstances as they could have; but that character and these circumstances essentially differ from those of the French Canadians. The Americans have derived from their Anglo-Saxon descent a certain quantity of phlegm, of old English good-nature, that fits them better for a republican government. They had also a republican education: their internal form of administration was republican; and they were trained to government by war, not by plots, murders, and assassinations."

It is almost superfluous to remark that the final allusion was directed against the leaders of the French revolution; who, as it will be shown in the next volume of this work, which will comprehend what is emphatically styled the Reign of Terror, not only continued to pursue the same ruthless means to accomplish their ambitious designs, but absolutely revelled in blood, slaughter, and devastation, like so many incarnate demons specially commissioned to exterminate the human race.

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Drawn by G. P. Harding, Esq. F.S.A.

The Tuileries taken by the populace on the 10th August, 1792 . . . . . *Frontispiece*

Arrest of Louis XVI. at Varennes . *Vignette Title.*

HISTORY

OF

OUR OWN TIMES.

CHAPTER I.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STATE OF FRANCE BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

History, like every thing in nature, exhibits a regular, uninterrupted series of causes and effects. The latter, growing up in their turn into causes, produce new generations of effects, and thus the chain is prolonged to infinity. In relating the events of any particular period, it is therefore necessary, in order to the due appreciation of those events, that the historian should at least glance at anterior circumstances of which they are results. If it is desirable that this course should be followed in treating of ordinary subjects, it must be imperatively required by a theme of such surpassing interest and importance as the French revolution, the point from which the History of our Times naturally sets out; more especially as that revolution has itself proved the fertile mother of changes and convulsions, the shocks of which have been felt over half the globe. To afford the reader a clearer insight into the primary causes of those stupendous events, which might well claim for the era

embraced by the plan of this work the name of "The Marvellous Age," I shall place before him a rapid sketch of the state of France at the period when this history commences.

In ancient times, France, like the other states of Europe, was governed by a barbarous aristocracy, the members of which were feebly united by the authority of a series of kings possessing neither power nor influence. The nobles enjoyed privileges entirely royal within their own territories: they made peace and war; they coined money; they judged without appeal; their vassals were their slaves, whom they bought and sold with the lands. The inhabitants of the towns, though freemen, were poor and depressed, depending for protection upon some tyrannical baron in their neighbourhood. At length, however, through the progress of the arts and industry, the cities and towns rose into considerable importance, and their inhabitants, together with the freemen of low rank residing in the country, were considered as entitled to representation in the states-general of the kingdom under the appellation of *tiers-état*, or third estate; the clergy and the nobles forming the first and the second. In process of time, the sovereign having made himself despotic, the meetings of the states-general were discontinued. This absolute authority of the crown was acquired by skilful encroachments, by daring exertions of prerogative, and by the aid of a powerful military force; but, though the monarch was absolute, the nobles and the ecclesiastical hierarchy retained their feudal privileges.

Previously to the revolution, the kingdom of France was never reduced to one uniform mass. It was composed of many separate provinces, acquired some by marriage, some by legacy, and others by conquest. Each province retained its ancient laws and privileges,

whether political or civil, agreeably to the capitularies or conditions by which they were originally acquired. Thus, in one part of his dominions, the French monarch was a count, in another a duke, and in others a king; the only bond that united his extensive realm being the strong military force by which it was overawed. Each province had its barriers, and the intercourse between one province and another was often more restricted by local usages than that of either with a foreign country. Some of the provinces, as Bretagne and Dauphiné, had even the right of assembling their provincial states periodically, but these formed no defence against the power of the court.

The clergy, amounting to eighty thousand, formed the first estate of the kingdom in point of precedence. Besides a revenue derived from tithes of 130 million livres, the possessions of the church embraced nearly half of the land in France. The high benefices, being in the gift of the king, were conferred almost exclusively on members of noble families, who, like their relatives, passed their lives in Paris and at Versailles, intriguing for favour and offices of state, and consuming the produce of their rich benefices in temporal dissipations and pursuits. The inferior clergy, on whom devolved all the practical duties of the profession, meanwhile toiled in obscurity, with little chance of preferment, scarcely elevated in rank or comfort above the peasantry composing their flocks. It is not surprising that a large proportion of the labouring clergy, as well as the lower classes of the people in general, should envy the high-born dignitaries, whose enormous wealth, and whose lives spent in idleness and luxurious indulgences, formed so strong a contrast with their own condition. The clergy were exempt from taxation. The crown had, however, of late years, been attempting to break through

this privilege; but the clergy had compromised with it by a free gift of about a million sterling every five years.

The nobility, nominally the second, but, in reality, the first order in the state, comprised about 150,000 individuals. All situations of importance in the state, the church, the army, the court, or the law, were exclusively enjoyed by nobles; hence men of fortune and men of talent invariably purchased a patent of nobility when they possessed the means of doing so: but this practice gave rise to a division in the aristocracy, which prevented them from taking any common measures for their safety; the great families being more jealous of the *parvenus*, the nobles of recent creation, than of the *roturiers*, the commoners, themselves. The title descended to all the children of the family, but the property to the eldest son alone: great numbers of them were consequently dependent upon the favours of the court. They considered the useful and commercial arts as dishonourable, and even the liberal professions as beneath their dignity, disdaining to intermarry into the families of those who were engaged in them.

The nobles in general were rapacious landlords in the provinces, that they might appear in splendour at court and in the capital. There, immersed in intrigue, sensuality, and vanity, their characters had become frivolous and contemptible. The nobles, like the clergy, were exempted from several of the most oppressive imposts, but it is an error to suppose that either class was wholly free from taxation. They were both subject to the indirect taxes which constituted in France, as they do in other countries, so large a proportion of the public revenue; but the nobility paid the capitation-tax and the *vingtième*, or twentieth penny, sometimes amounting together to four shillings in the pound: as did the clergy also in the provinces annexed by conquest to the kingdom,

comprising about an eighth of the territory and a sixth of the wealth of France. Both, it is true, were exempted from the *taille*, a direct impost on the produce of land, which was borne exclusively by the *tiers-état*, and, with the *vingtième* and some smaller burdens, amounted to no less a sum than 7½ millions sterling per annum.

Next to the nobles may be classed the parliaments as a privileged order, possessing a secondary kind of nobility of their own. These were bodies, appointed in different provinces as courts of law for the administration of justice. In consequence of the corruption of the officers of state, the members purchased their places, which they held for life; but the son was usually preferred, when he wished to purchase his father's place. Owing to this circumstance, the practising lawyers had little chance of ever becoming judges. Courts thus constituted comprised a motley mixture of learned and ignorant men. Justice was ill administered. Judges allowed their votes in depending causes to be solicited by the parties or their friends. No sensible person ever thought of entering into litigation against a member of one of these parliaments; no lawyer would undertake his cause, which never came to a successful issue, and rarely to any issue at all. After the states-general had fallen into disuse, the parliaments acquired a certain degree of political consequence, and formed the only check to the absolute power of the crown. The royal edicts, or laws, were always sent to be registered in the books of the parliaments before they were put in force. In favourable times and circumstances, they often delayed or even refused to register the royal edicts, and presented remonstrances against them; alleging that the obnoxious edict, being detrimental to the public welfare, could not be the will of the king, but must be either a forgery or an imposition of the ministers. To

silence this objection, the king either issued a positive order, or held what was called a bed of justice, that is to say, came in person and commanded the edict to be registered. The parliaments, however, frequently carried their opposition very far, even to the ruin of themselves and their families, as individuals; but this rendered them extremely popular with the nation, and enabled them to embarrass a weak government. To get rid of this annoyance, the parliaments were abolished altogether towards the conclusion of the reign of Louis XV., but restored, as a popular measure, at the beginning of that of his successor.

The *tiers-état*, or commons, formed the lowest order of the state in France. To form a conception of their depressed situation, it is necessary to observe that they bore the chief part of the burdens of the state, though only one-third of the land was in their hands. An expensive and ambitious court, an army of two hundred thousand men in time of peace, and twice that number in war, a considerable naval establishment, public roads and works, were all supported principally by taxes wrung from this lowest class of the people. To aggravate the evil, these taxes, amounting to nearly twenty millions sterling a year, were unfairly divided and ill-collected. Some of the provinces had obtained commutations unreasonably favourable to themselves; others, for having shown a refractory spirit, were saddled with more than their just share of the public burden; while others again, having made no commutation, were liable to a progressive and most vexatious increase of their imposts. These were assessed by the intendants of the provinces, from whose decision there was, practically speaking, no appeal. The collection of the revenues was let out to farmers-general at a certain sum, over and above which they not only amassed immense for-

tunes themselves, but were enabled to make enormous presents to those favourites or mistresses of the king or the minister, through whose influence they had procured their appointments. In levying the money from the people, they were guilty of the most cruel oppression, having it in their power to obtain whatever revenue laws they pleased, and to execute them in the severest manner. For this purpose they kept in their pay an army of clerks, subalterns, and spies, amounting to eighty thousand men. *Corvées*, or obligations to repair the high roads, founded on custom, decrees, and servitude, were enforced by the intendants with the utmost severity, and annually ruined vast numbers of the farmers. In filling up one valley in Lorraine, no fewer than three hundred were reduced to beggary. The intendant had the choice of the time and place of employment, and was not bound to accept any commutation in money.

But, if the impositions laid by the government on the *tiers-état* were severe, those to which it was liable on the part of the nobles were still more vexatious. The latter retained all their manorial jurisdictions. The common people, anciently slaves, had obtained their freedom upon various conditions. In many places they and their posterity were bound to pay a perpetual tribute to their feudal lords; and this formed a considerable part of the revenue of many of the provincial nobles. The most important operations of agriculture were fettered or prevented by the game laws. Game of the most destructive kind, such as wild boars and herds of deer, were permitted to range at large, through extensive districts, without enclosures to protect the crops. Numerous edicts prohibited hoeing and weeding, lest the young partridges should be killed; mowing grass, lest the eggs should be destroyed;

taking away the stubble, lest the birds should be deprived of shelter; manuring with night-soil, lest their flavour should be injured. In many places, the use even of hand-mills was not free, and the *seigneurs* were invested with the power of selling to the peasants the right of bruising buck-wheat or barley between two stones. Vain would be the attempt to describe all the feudal services which pressed with such severity upon industry in every part of France; the English language has no parallel words to express their names, as preserved in the *cahiers*, or instructions from the electors to the deputies to the states-general.

Under such a weight of oppressive burdens, it is but natural that the cultivators of France should be in a most miserable state. Arthur Young calculated in 1789 that, taking into account the price of provisions, the agricultural labourer in France was 76 per cent. poorer than in England; consequently, that he was proportionably worse fed, worse lodged, and worse clothed than his brethren on this side of the Channel. That writer actually found the peasantry in the most indigent condition: their houses dark, comfortless, and almost destitute of furniture; their dress ragged and miserable; their food the coarsest and most humble fare. The great proprietors all resorted to Paris in quest of amusement, dissipation, or advancement, and regarded the cultivators of the land in no other light than as beasts of burden, from whose labour the greatest possible profit was to be extracted; whilst the latter considered their lords as tyrants, known only by the vexatious visits and endless demands of their stewards.

Above all these discordant elements rose the monarch, who, as it has been said, was despotic. The sovereign had, by his sole authority, for nearly two centuries, issued ordinances possessing all the force of

laws, though originally they required the sanction of the representatives of the people. Taxes were imposed without the consent of the nation or of its representatives; criminal commissions, appointed by the crown alone, rendered personal liberty and property insecure; and *lettres de cachet*, or warrants of imprisonment issued by the sovereign, might deprive any of his subjects of their freedom, and consign them to a dungeon for life. Corruption in its worst form prevailed at court, and tainted all the sources of influence. The highest appointments in the state, the church, and the army, were openly disposed of by the mistresses of the king, or procured through intrigues. Enormous gratuities and pensions were granted as the price of the most infamous services; so that twenty millions sterling of the public debt had been incurred for purposes too disgraceful to be mentioned in the public accounts; and the amount of this kind of expenditure was ten times as great in the time of Louis XV. as it had been under his predecessor. Hence debts, the annual charge of which absorbed more than half of the revenue of the state, had been contracted without the authority or increased without the knowledge of the nation. The consequence was, that the annual expenditure at last exceeded the revenue by upwards of seven millions sterling.

This government, such as it was, had stood for ages, and might still have continued, had not many concurring causes contributed to its overthrow. The inferior orders of the clergy, cut off from all hope of preferment, regarded the high dignitaries with envy and jealousy, and were ready to join the laity of their own rank in any popular commotion. The inferior provincial nobility beheld with contempt and indignation the vices and the power of the courtiers, and the higher nobility were

desirous to reduce the authority of the crown. The practising lawyers, excluded from all chance of rising to the bench, eagerly wished for a change of things; not doubting that their professional skill and talents would render them necessary in any alterations that should occur; and accordingly we find them the first instruments in producing the revolution and its most active supporters. But there were other circumstances which contributed to its commencement and its progress.

The principles of liberty had been for half a century zealously disseminated in France by men of superior talents, such as Rousseau, Helvetius, and Raynal, to whom the celebrated Montesquieu had led the way. The country abounded, indeed, in men of letters, of whom there are said to have been twenty thousand in Paris alone; and nearly all these were partisans of some kind of political reform. One of the last acts of the administration of cardinal Brienne was to publish, on the 5th of July, 1788, a resolution of the king in council, inviting all his subjects to give him their advice on the state of public affairs. This was considered as a concession of unlimited liberty of the press; and it is scarcely possible to conceive the infinite variety of political publications, which, from that period, excited dissatisfaction with the order of things under which they had till then lived.

The established religion of France, the Roman Catholic, is peculiarly liable to attack, in consequence of the multitude of miracles and legendary tales with which its history abounds. Assailed by philosophers in various elaborate performances, and with the dangerous weapons of ridicule and satire by men of wit, among whom Voltaire took the lead, religion had for some time past been gradually undermined. The peo-

ple, not discriminating between the sacred principles on which it rests, and the superstitious follies engrafted upon it, had learned to laugh at the whole, and to reject, instead of reforming, the religion of their fathers. Hence, the first order in the state, the priesthood, had already begun to be considered as useless, and the minds of men were prepared for important changes.

Thus, though the revolution is to be traced to a variety of causes, and though all of them concurred to compose a mine threatening the most destructive effects, still the financial embarrassment arising from the corruption and extravagance of the ruling powers was the spark which, after smouldering for nearly two centuries, produced the actual explosion.

This dilapidation of the public resources, commenced by Richelieu and Mazarin, in pursuance of their ambitious and selfish schemes, was continued by Louis XIV. with his inordinate vanity, his prodigal magnificence, his unjust wars, and his religious persecutions and dragonnades. To these must be added, the barefaced profligacy of the regent duke of Orleans, the ignominious sensuality of Louis XV., and the insatiable rapacity of the royal mistresses and favourites. Such was the prodigious waste of the public revenue, owing to all these causes that Louis XIV. left to his successor a debt of 3500 million, which was swelled before the death of the latter to upwards of 4000 million livres.

Louis XV., a weak and inglorious prince, without any of the ambition or spirit of a king, without even a will of his own, was wholly engrossed in sensual gratifications, and surrendered himself, body and soul, during the greater part of his reign, to the direction of profligate mistresses, the most notorious of whom were Pompadour and du Barry. The former, who ruled

not only the imbecile Louis but all France, when he became indifferent to her person, employed herself in training young and beautiful girls as victims to his lust. These were either bought of their parents or carried off by force; and no means, however villanous, were spared for compassing this end. A secluded retreat in the park of Versailles, called the Hermitage, and afterwards better known by the name of Parc aux Cerfs, was the theatre of these degrading pleasures. The facts related of this place are beyond conception scandalous and revolting; the number of the youthful victims rose to a frightful amount, and the sums expended on this establishment are scarcely to be calculated: all agree that they far exceeded one hundred millions, and some even compute them at a thousand. On the death of the detested Pompadour, her place was supplied by the countess du Barry, who, in the space of five years, cost the state upwards of two hundred millions.

Such was the hatred which Louis incurred by this disgraceful way of life, that during his last years he durst not appear in public. It is true that the edict of his chancellor Maupeou declaring the absolute will of the monarch to be a law of the constitution, and the rapacity of Terrai, comptroller of the finances, contributed their share to this general odium. Besides this dangerous disposition of the popular mind, he bequeathed to his successor, as it has been already observed, debts to the amount of more than four thousand millions.

CHAPTER II.

LOUIS XVI. AND MARIE ANTOINETTE.

Such was the inheritance left by Louis XV. to his grandson, on whom now devolved the weight of the vices and the misdeeds of his ancestors. If not the ablest of rulers, he was nevertheless entitled to the highest respect as a man. His grandfather, the deceased king, had purposely kept him aloof from all public affairs; his father, the dauphin, who died in 1765, had possessed very little influence; his education, conducted by a gouvernante, the countess Marsan, had not been the most brilliant, nay, it may be said to have been neglected, though his preceptor had found means to awaken in him a taste for the study of the sciences, and he was eager to acquire information. He was particularly fond of geography, and tolerably well versed in history, though he had not penetrated deep enough into its spirit. He had, unfortunately for a prince who is destined to reign over millions, too great a partiality for certain mechanical arts, for instance masons' and locksmiths' work, which took up much of his time, and degraded him in the eyes of many.

Louis had a prepossessing countenance, which some traits of melancholy rendered still more interesting. His gait was heavy and undignified, and he was very negligent in his dress. He was the second son of the dauphin, born on the 23rd of August, 1754, and at first duke of Berry. Following the example of his virtuous father, he was a faithful husband, a tender parent, scrupulously followed all the injunctions of religion and of the church, fasted and prayed, without, however, finding fault with the queen for not being so conscientious in these matters as himself.

The duke de Choiseul, raised by the influence of Pompadour to the post of prime minister, found it consistent with his policy to marry the heir-apparent to the French throne to a daughter of Maria Theresa's. This marriage was announced to the public at a moment when it was quite weary of the scandal occasioned by the conduct of the old king: and hopes, faint it is true, were entertained that this match would produce a beneficial change of things. Choiseul hastened it the more, as he had reason to fear that Madame du Barry might in time extend her influence to political affairs. The archduchess Marie Antoinette seemed to possess the requisite qualities for winning the love of the young prince, of the king, and of the whole nation. Her tolerably regular features were highly expressive, her complexion was delicately fair, her bearing equally graceful and majestic, and she was in the first opening of her beauty, being scarcely fifteen. In her family circle, the empress never subjected her daughters to the restraints of a cold etiquette, which forbids the indulgence of all the simple and natural feelings. She had an especial predilection for this princess; but she had not bestowed due care on the education of her favourite, though the public papers of the time extolled her extraordinary talents and acquirements. As her instructors in the French language, her mother had engaged two French actors, one of whom had formerly been a military officer, and was a man of the worst character. The French ambassador was directed by his court to remonstrate with the empress on this choice; she dismissed the two comedians, and applied for an ecclesiastic. The duke de Choiseul, after long indecision, sent the abbé Vermond, whom the archbishop of Toulouse had recommended as peculiarly qualified for the duty. This Vermond contrived to secure so permanent an influence and authority over his

pupil, that he subsequently directed and decided almost all the actions of the queen: at that age when all impressions are the strongest, he had found means to gain her unbounded confidence, without taking any great pains about her instruction: indeed, he left her purposely in ignorance on many subjects. Marie Antoinette spoke French fluently and pleasingly, but wrote it not so well. Vermond corrected all the letters which she afterwards sent to Vienna.

The marquis de Durfort was appointed to perform the marriage ceremony as proxy for the dauphin. The pomp and magnificence of the train which escorted the princess from Strasburg were extraordinary. The king and the dauphin received her at Compiegne, where they passed some days before they made their grand entry into Paris. The king committed a scandalous breach of decorum for a sovereign and father of a family, in making the young princess, the royal family, and the ladies of the court, sup with his mistress, du Barry. Marie Antoinette felt justly offended at this procedure; but she contrived to disguise her anger. Not so the people, who loudly expressed their disapprobation of conduct which they deemed degrading to the royal dignity.

Two days afterwards, the dauphin was married to his bride in the chapel royal, and the festivities commenced in Paris and at Versailles. These were so magnificent and so expensive as to excite murmurs. The cost of them had been estimated at twenty millions. In vain did the abbé Terrai, comptroller of the finances, remonstrate against this profusion. Louis XV., who had no notion of any other glory, strove to surpass his predecessor in this particular. Unpleasant circumstances which took place at the balls on the score of etiquette, negligent and defective preparations, and the disagree-

able sight of a crowd of importunate beggars who beset the palace, dispelled in a great degree the magic charm of these *fêtes*. An accident which occurred at the last of them, and which originated in the most culpable neglect, turned the general joy into mourning; and was regarded by the suffering people, who had placed all their hopes on the young royal couple, as a most unlucky omen, which in the sequel was but too fully verified.

The city of Paris, namely, gave a *fête*, on the 30th of May, 1770, in honour of the marriage. Fireworks were to be exhibited in the spacious Place Louis XV., where a statue of that monarch had recently been erected. Workmen were just then employed in completing the Rue Royale, leading from that Place to the Boulevard; it was encumbered with building materials, and holes which had not been filled up rendered the passage through it inconvenient. An immense number of carriages had proceeded in great disorder to the Quai, and blocked up the most commodious outlet from this Place. Some patroles, lost in the crowd, were totally inadequate to preserve order and to prevent accidents.

The fireworks disappointed the anticipations of the thousands of spectators. Before the bouquet of rockets was discharged, some of the decorations of wood caught fire. This fire was at first admired, as it was supposed to have been purposely kindled to give more effect to the whole. But, when it was observed to spread with great rapidity, admiration was succeeded by alarm, and every one endeavoured to get away as fast as possible. The pedestrians hastened from the Quai, lest they should be run over by the carriages and horses, and all hurried towards the Rue Royale. The confusion was already very great, when thieves and pickpockets strove to increase it by thrusting and shouting, in order to rob those whom they hustled. Not a creature could force

his way out of this crowd, which was to the full as dangerous as a field of battle. Dreadful was the situation of those who had wives and children along with them. Such was the state of things for above half an hour, during which people were crushed, knocked down, trampled upon. At length, the crowd began to clear away, but one hundred and thirty-three dead and a far greater number of wounded strewed the Place. The victims of this day, for similar accidents occurred in other places, especially at the Quai of the Tuileries, were computed at twelve hundred.

Vehement was the outcry raised against the government, which had taken measures so inadequate for preventing such a calamity. The parliament declared that it would obtain satisfaction for the public, and set on foot an investigation. But the guilty were found to be so numerous, and persons of so much consequence, that nobody was called to account and nobody punished. The old king, whose feelings were blunted by sensual indulgence, gave himself no concern about the matter; but so much the more deeply did the young dauphin take the terrible catastrophe to heart. To no purpose were attempts made to divert him from it; he inquired into the minutest details, and his bride was drowned in tears. Both sent their income for a whole year, accompanied by a pathetic letter, to the city authorities, requesting them to apply it to the support of the most distressed families.

Louis XV. was, like every one else, enchanted with the dauphiness: her vivacity, her most agreeable manners, her frankness, and her *naïveté*, fascinated the whole royal family and all who had the privilege of approaching her. She pleased still more when, after the festivities were over, she had laid aside all her diamonds and other ornaments. In a light, simple dress

of cambric or muslin she was likened to the Medicean Venus, or the Atalanta in the gardens of Marly. Poets vied with each other in celebrating her charms, and painters in delineating them: a portrait, representing her in the centre of an opening rose, was a particular favourite. The king talked of nothing but her, so that Madame du Barry began to be jealous, and set about devising means to throw some shade upon so much brightness. She jeered the old king for his blind partiality to the young Austrian, and made spiteful remarks on the irregularity of her features. It was not long before Choiseul, the minister who had negociated this alliance between France and Austria, was dismissed: he had a high esteem for the dauphiness, and, before she left Vienna, her mother had earnestly recommended to her to cultivate his friendship. She was now without any other guide or adviser than the abbé Vermond, at a court where the enemies of the man who had been the means of bringing her thither were triumphant—enemies who hated not only Austria but any alliance with the imperial house, and who, though active, had laboured in vain to prevent this alliance.

Several parties were soon formed, owing to the preference given by Marie Antoinette to the Princess Elisabeth, of which Madame Marsan, *gouvernante* of the *enfans de France*, was in some measure jealous. The different views on the subject of education entertained by the two parties were pressed into the quarrel, and those which Maria Theresa had followed in regard to her daughter were loudly and unbecomingly censured. The abbé Vermond felt himself affronted, took part in the quarrel, added his complaints and his raillery to those of the dauphiness, and severely criticised and attacked the *gouvernante*. Busybodies made a point of repeating to each party the animadversions of the other,

and from this moment there was no end to intrigues and cabals. In the circle of Madame Marsan, even the most indifferent actions of the dauphiness were canvassed, and frequently represented in an entirely false light. The cardinal prince Louis de Rohan, at that time ambassador at Vienna and a creature of the Marsan party, repeated there all the unfounded complaints which were transmitted to him, and thus drew upon the dauphiness frequent admonitions and reproofs from her mother, the cause of which could not long remain unknown to her. Upon pretence of a friendly zeal, Rohan had not ceased to paint the conduct of Marie Antoinette to the court of Vienna in the most hateful colours, and to condemn her inconceivable levity, which must alienate from her all hearts in France. Such were the grounds upon which the queen harboured a permanent enmity against cardinal Rohan, which nothing could mitigate, and which, in the sequel, proved almost equally injurious to both.

Louis XVI. was scarcely twenty years old when he ascended the throne, and, as it has been already observed, through the fault of his grandfather, he was wholly inexperienced in matters of government. The mistress, annoyed by his rigid morals, had found means to render him ridiculous and contemptible in the eyes of the king, and was particularly exasperated against the dauphiness. The ministers durst not break with her, if they meant to keep their places, and showed as little disposition to spare the dauphin. This party had reported that the heir-apparent was a man of austere manners, and decidedly inclined to arbitrary despotism; an imputation to which a somewhat grave and melancholy look unfortunately gave a degree of plausibility. In his whole person and manner were plainly expressed the two principal features of his character—honesty

and irresolution. It was only in the most intimate confidence that many a witty sally and many a striking remark escaped him. A very great number of persons had, on the other hand, placed their hopes upon the young queen. Her agreeable person, her vivacity, the species of persecution which she had to endure from du Barry, and the desire to please all, rendered her dear to the French, though the latter, it is true, led her but too frequently into indiscretions. With these qualities she united benevolence towards every one too sincere to be mistaken, which at first gained her all hearts. People were transported with the dignified bearing and the majesty which she exhibited at great solemnities, and at first discovered in her disposition to shake off the restrictions of a wearisome ceremonial a certain greatness of mind, that seemed to be above such trivial matters. In the early years of her marriage, she had but little influence over her husband, who appeared to dread her attachment to the duke de Choiseul, the most inveterate enemy of his father, and whom he himself could not endure.

On the decease of Louis XV., extraordinary agitation prevailed at court before it was known what men would be placed at the head of the administration.

All the ministers of the late king were in consternation when an order was issued for the confinement of the mistress, du Barry, in a convent, where, however, she remained but a few days, being then exiled to Pont-aux-Dames. This step proved to them that the new government was not disposed to cloak the disgraceful proceedings of the old. The duke d'Aiguillon, who had publicly shown himself the friend of the mistress, was dismissed, Maupeou, the chancellor, exiled, and the abbé Terrai turned out. Public opinion triumphed; the people in-

dulged in the most extravagant joy; the chancellor was burned in effigy; the abbé Terrai was not forgotten, and the wildest exultation was expressed in satirical songs and ballads upon the disgraceful dismissal of the detested ministers.

Maurepas, a man whose age was supposed to have given him experience, but who had far more taste for the frivolities of a court than talent for public business, was appointed prime-minister. The choice of a successor to Terrai produced, on the one hand, the highest enthusiasm, and on the other the greatest alarm. It was the honest, enlightened Turgot, equally attached to the people, the country, and the king, on whom the appointment of comptroller-general of the finances was conferred: his name was dear to all who sincerely desired the prosperity of the state. The king himself subsequently used this expression: "Nobody loves the people except Turgot and myself." To convey a correct idea of the sentiments and principles which actuated this excellent man, who, had he been suffered to retain his post, might perhaps have been able to stem the raging torrent of the revolution, in a letter addressed by him to the king on the day that he was appointed comptroller-general, he insisted most particularly on the following points: "No bankruptcy—no increase of taxes — no loans. No bankruptcy, neither voluntary nor publicly acknowledged, nor occasioned by forced reductions—no increase of taxes: the ground of this lies in the state of your people and of your own heart—no loan, for all loans decrease the disposable revenue; they lead sooner or later to bankruptcy and to the increase of the taxes. In time of peace, no loans ought to be made but for the extinction of anterior and more burdensome debts."

It was entirely in this spirit that Turgot administered

his difficult office. He diminished the duties on such articles as belong to the prime necessaries of life, without decreasing the revenue; he gave to commerce as many liberties as possible; he encouraged manufactures, suppressed injurious privileges claimed by guilds and companies, promoted agriculture, purposed to abolish whatever was oppressive in the feudal system, and to reduce the enormous expense of the royal establishment; but by this last measure he made an irreconcileable enemy of the ill-advised Marie Antoinette; and, after an administration of twenty months, he was obliged to resign the department of the finances. His worthy friend and colleague Malesherbes had previously relinquished the ministry of the interior. Turgot, we repeat, was perhaps the only man who could have prevented the outbreak of the revolution.

The queen now began to lose by degrees the love and respect of the nation, owing to her conduct, which, though not exactly culpable, yet had appearances very much against it. To this result also contributed her entire devotedness to Vermond and some others, who had contrived to gain her favour by all sorts of intrigues and flatteries, and to turn it to the most profitable account.

All that the French had admired and thought amiable in the dauphiness they began to censure in the queen; they either put a false and frequently a most reprehensible construction on all her actions, or strove to cover her with ridicule and contempt. A rather indiscreet frolic of one of her ladies, which she seemed to approve, made her many enèmies and exposed her to much calumny. A drawing-room was held on some occasion to receive the condolences of all the ladies, in mourning, who had the entrée, and were presentable at court. Old and young hastened to pay their respects to the new

queen. The small black caps with prodigiously large lappets, and the many aged and shaking heads making their well-studied obeisances down to the very ground, gave to this ceremony a strong tinge of the ludicrous; still the queen had committed no breach of decorum, or derogated in the slightest degree from her dignity. But the marquise de Clermont-Tonnerre, whose official duty it was to stand behind the queen, tired out by the length of the ceremony, sat down upon the floor where she was hid by the rampart of hoops formed by the queen and the ladies of the palace. Here she amused herself with pulling the latter by the skirts of their robes, and playing many other childish pranks. These tickled the queen's fancy, so that she was several times put out of countenance, and obliged to hold her fan before her face to conceal an involuntary laugh. The ancient ladies, imagining themselves to be the objects of her derision, pronounced her to be a scornful creature, who was fond of the young only, and made game of all who were old and venerable, and declared that they would never show themselves again at court, where they were turned into ridicule, because they had come thither to pay their dutiful respects. Even at the execution of this unfortunate princess, some of these dowagers related this incident in its minutest details, and observed that she was justly punished for it.

Other circumstances equally trivial, and even amusements that were perfectly innocent, contributed not less to lower the queen in the public estimation. A morning party, which she formed to see the sun rise, and which the king did not choose to accompany, furnished a theme for particular comment. At three o'clock on a summer morning, this party proceeded in open carriages and on horseback to the heights in the gardens of Marly; the duke of Orleans, then duke of

Chartres, many other distinguished personages, and even their wives, were of the company. Slander nevertheless painted this innocent pleasure in the blackest colours.

Mademoiselle Bertin, the celebrated *marchande de modes*, was introduced to the queen, and made a total revolution in the dress and decorations of the French ladies: this too was charged, and not quite unjustly, to the account of Marie Antoinette, and was productive of consequences very injurious to her. Bertin soon obtained access to the private apartments of the queen, a privilege contrary to all usage, and thus had opportunity to persuade her to adopt some new fashion every day. The queen, who had previously been very simple in her toilet, now made dress her principal employment, and all the ladies of course followed her example. The young were led by it into great extravagance, some of them into debt, and mothers and husbands murmured and complained: many most disagreeable domestic scenes, quarrels, and dissensions ensued in families; and the queen was blamed for all this, as it was universally alleged that she set a ruinous example to the ladies of France. The fashions changed every moment, and the head-dress was built up at last into such a pile of gauze, feathers, flowers, ribbons, &c., that ladies could not sit upright in a carriage, but were obliged to lean forward or to put their heads out of the windows, while others knelt on pillows at the bottom of the coach, lest they should derange the towering structure. All this naturally furnished occasion for the most laughable caricatures.

The king had made his consort a present of the Little Trianon. She occupied herself much with the improvement of the gardens, without spending a great deal on the buildings belonging to it. She was extremely de-

lighted with this retreat, and frequently went thither on foot, followed by a single attendant; the wife of the steward served for lady of the bedchamber, and some of the wardrobe women and pages of the palace were likewise there. Of this circumstance also calumny took especial advantage to injure the princess. It was even reported that she designed to change the name of Little Trianon to Little Vienna, or Little Schönbrunn, which was utterly false. By such means, her enemies hoped to make the public believe that, in the heart of France, the queen's sentiments and feelings were still wholly Austrian.

Louis could not conceive how it happened that he was not beloved by a people for whose welfare he was disposed to do everything in his power, and he encountered all those anxieties to which an inexperienced and timid but well-meaning prince is subject. A dearth of corn, artificially produced by wealthy persons, enemies of Turgot's, occasioned discontent and riots. Hired vagabonds assembled in many parts of the kingdom, and clamoured furiously for bread; some were even disguised in female apparel, that they might commit disorders with the more impunity. Nobody knew at the time whence these hordes had so suddenly issued. Upon pretence that the free trade in corn had occasioned the dearth, large bodies of armed rioters broke open the magazines of the government and of private individuals, and destroyed the stores deposited there. The king showed great weakness on this occasion; he granted a general pardon to all the offenders, and his ministers returned to the system which Turgot had attempted to reform.

The ceremony of the coronation was postponed, for want of money, till June, 1775; many persons were wholly adverse to it, and conceived that this expensive

formality, with which, moreover, various superstitious observances were mixed up, tended rather to injure than to increase the royal respectability. It nevertheless took place with all the customary ceremonies: the monarch was even required to swear that he would use his best endeavours for the extirpation of heretics..

Soon after Turgot and Malesherbes had relinquished the ministry, the most extravagant profusion succeeded a reasonable economy at court; and it was readily countenanced by the complaisant Maurepas. The king, who grudged all unnecessary expenditure, whether for his own person or for the public service, if fresh burdens were to be imposed on his people, granted to the queen and her favourites, with unpardonable weakness and indulgence, all that they solicited. If he deemed the cost of an entertainment too great, or a conversation not quite decorous, he withdrew; and his departure was the signal for general and boisterous mirth, which was frequently carried to excess. The old court, notwithstanding its extravagance, had occasioned less expense than the new, in consequence of the incessant changes of fashion in furniture, dress, and equipages. Maurepas considered this as an unavoidable evil, which he himself took pleasure in encouraging, and he even seemed to be afraid lest the king should be too strict. He deceived the latter by his looks, which appeared ever serene and free from care, and played the part of panegyrist of these expensive innovations. The privileged classes saw in Clugny, the comptroller-general, the champion of their pretended rights; he strove, indeed, to deserve that title, and daily neutralised the effect of many wholesome regulations adopted by Turgot for the benefit of the state and of the sovereign. Reason and prudence were banished from the council, where edicts, which

the king had sanctioned only a few months before by a *lit de justice*, were rescinded. These contradictions produced the most mischievous impression. Necessity had not by any means driven the monarch to this course, which deeply degraded himself, and gave a severe shock to his public consideration. It is unaccountable how Maurepas could lead his master into such humiliating measures. Clugny, on his part, aggravated the general complaints by introducing, during the short period of his administration, the baneful system of lotteries, as a source of profit to the State. The discontent against him soon increased to the highest pitch, and Louis sighed and lamented over the daily deterioration of the finances, which it was not in his power to remedy.

In this dilemma, Maurepas fixed his eyes upon Necker, a native of Geneva, but who had long resided in France, and enjoyed universal respect. He had formerly been engaged in business as a banker, and in the course of ten years had amassed a very large fortune by industry, judicious speculations, and integrity. He was a member of the East India Company, which he had ably defended against its enemies, by recapitulating the services which it had rendered to the state in the most critical times: every one was forced on this occasion to do justice to his eminent talents. He had subsequently been resident of the republic of Geneva at the French court, and thus become acquainted with the duke de Choiseul. He had also gained a literary reputation by several works, especially by one on the corn-trade, twenty editions of which were printed. A memorial on the resources of the state, which he wrote, and which was presented to the king, likewise excited a great sensation. He was soon afterwards appointed coadjutor to Taboureau, the comptroller-general, who

succeeded Clugny, on his decease, after a vicious administration of six months, as director of the royal treasury, and eight months afterwards, comptroller-general instead of Taboureau.

Necker became director of the finances at a most difficult point of time, and under the most arduous circumstances. A man of liberal sentiments, and well-disposed to useful reforms and retrenchments, he had soon the same enemies to encounter that Turgot had met with. The economy which he strove to introduce in the royal establishment was called the attack of a republican spirit upon the prerogatives of the royal family; and the nobles, revelling in the produce of the toil of the people, beheld in him a formidable foe. To justify these measures of economy, he published, in 1781, his *Compte rendu au Roi*, more than 200,000 copies of which were sold. He now sought to obtain a place in the council; objections were raised on the score of religion: he demanded his dismissal, and received it, contrary to his expectation, in May, 1781. This is not the place for a minute investigation and exposition of the faults with which Necker was chargeable during his administration, and the most important of which was perhaps his too great readiness to raise loans; suffice it to explain, in a few words, the difficulties which he and every minister who enters upon office under similar circumstances must experience, and which prove insuperable when the minister is not duly supported by the firm resolution of a strong-minded, consistent, and persevering monarch.

The finances of France had, as we have seen, fallen into the utmost confusion and disorder, through the maladministration of several reigns: the king was anxious to remedy a state of things so alarming for himself and his people. He sought and found men capable of

accomplishing the object, but who met with the most determined resistance, the moment they took the only way that could have led to a successful result, and this was to set bounds to the profusion and the unnecessary expenses of the court, to reduce the host of useless placemen, not to lay the whole oppressive burden of the taxes and imposts upon the labouring and industrious class of the people, but to make it bear equally upon the privileged classes of plunderers. These men, moreover, received no support whatever in their measures from the weak and vacillating monarch. Under such circumstances, they could not fail to fall victims to their zeal. The bold attempt to apply a remedy is practicable only where the prince combines fixedness of purpose and firmness of character with upright intentions; but not where the tears or entreaties of a woman, or the cabals, flatteries, and intrigues of a tribe of greedy courtiers, are capable of overthrowing the most carefully digested and the most feasible plans.

The day on which Louis signed the treaty with the revolted American colonies of Great Britain (Feb. 7, 1778) decided his own fate: for France was involved by this step in a war, which not only served to spread republican ideas among the nation and the army, but cost, according to Audoin, 1400 million livres, occasioned an irremediable deficit, which led to the convocation of the states-general, and that to the downfall of the monarch and the monarchy. The king himself was against this war, but he was outvoted in the council of state, where his ministers calculated upon founding the prosperity of the commerce of France on the ruin of that of England. In 1782, the latter was obliged to acknowledge the independence of the United States; but the share which France had in producing this result served only to aggravate the fury of the storm already

impending over her own head. It brought the nation into direct contact with the maxim that resistance against the oppressive measures of a government is a right and a duty for the people, and produced a predilection for republican constitutions. A great number of young Frenchmen, many of them belonging to the wealthiest and most distinguished families — among others, the marquis de Lafayette — who had fought in North America, and seen things there on their fairest side, returned full of enthusiasm and impressed with the conviction that the constitution of the North Americans might be transferred to the kingdom of France, composed of totally different elements, and must be transferred to it, if the nation was to be put into possession of the rights which had been wrested from it, and into the enjoyment of the liberty which was its due.

CHAPTER III.

UNPOPULARITY OF THE ROYAL FAMILY.

The universal discontent of the French nation with its government increased every year in an alarming degree. The birth of a dauphin in 1781 could not allay the popular displeasure on account of the recent dismissal of Necker; on the contrary, it was aggravated by a new tax, which his successor, Joly de Fleury, thought fit to impose, and which the parliament but faintly resisted.

Maurepas, the minister, who, led astray by his egotism, had continually deceived the king, died on the 21st of November, 1781, and, by his death, the counsels of the sovereign seemed to be changed. Louis XIV. declared, after Mazarin's death, that he would himself

govern; Louis XV. had given a like promise on the death of cardinal Fleury, but forgotten it again in a few days; and Louis XVI. imagined, after he had lost his weak guide, that he could dispense in future with a prime minister. He therefore loudly declared that there should be no Choiseul while he reigned. It was not long, however, before he conferred on count de Vergennes the title of chief of the council of finance, and with it a certain preponderance over the other ministers. The king had, it is true, resolved to take the administration of the finances under his special superintendence: to this end, he frequently transacted business with all his ministers, and subjected their accounts to a very rigid examination, which was, on several occasions, carried even to severity and injustice, so that some of them refused to attend the council, while others manifested such deep affliction, that the king was almost driven to despair. The queen declared herself against the committee of count de Vergennes. Louis was soon weary of a pursuit which so clearly exposed to view the wretched state of the finances, and involved him in numberless vexations; he therefore gave it up. Fleury was obliged to resign, in order to restore unanimity among the ministers.

The queen had, meanwhile, become so unpopular, that her every step was watched, and her most innocent actions were censured, misrepresented, and distorted, in the most scandalous manner. A sledge-party, which she formed in the cold winter of 1776, when the snow lay for six successive weeks in Paris—a very rare phenomenon there—furnished abundant scope for slander.

The queen had ordered several sledges to be built, and her example was followed by the princes and by the gentlemen of the court: in a few days, a considerable number of them was completed. The tinkling of

the bells, the cracking of the whips, the splendid trappings of the horses, adorned with white plumes of feathers, the different forms of the sledges and their rich decorations, formed altogether a striking scene. Some of the sledges, in which were masked ladies, proceeded to the Champs Elysées, and a report was immediately circulated that the queen had driven in a sledge through the streets of Paris. The public persisted in regarding this circumstance as another sign of her fondness for Austria, though several old sledges, found in the coach-houses of Versailles, proved that it was not the first time that the court had indulged in this amusement. These animadversions reached the ears of Marie Antoinette, who never afterwards allowed herself this innocent recreation, though several other winters were very favourable for it. The king himself was not at these parties, but said to some of the courtiers, who were talking of their sledges: "Here are mine," pointing to a train of carts employed by his direction in carrying wood for poor families. These few words show the excellent heart of the well-meaning but weak prince.

About this time, the queen contracted an intimacy with the amiable princess de Lamballe, by birth a princess of Savoy, who was then scarcely twenty and in the full bloom of her beauty. Her situation, too, was calculated to excite a deep interest in her behalf: while yet almost a child, she was married to a young prince, son of the duke de Penthièvre, who, seduced by the mischievous example of the duke of Orleans, had shortened his life by his excesses. At eighteen she was left a widow, without children; and it may be asserted that, since her arrival in France, she had experienced nothing but affliction. The queen appointed her *grande maîtresse* of her household, and the closest friendship prevailed between them.

Some time afterwards, the queen became acquainted with the countess Julie de Polignac, for whom she also conceived a warm friendship. Marie Antoinette expressed surprise that she had not before seen her at court; and the confession of the countess, that her narrow circumstances had prevented her even from attending the marriage festivities, caused her new patroness to feel the more sympathy for her situation. Diane de Polignac, lady of honour to the countess d'Artois, and sister-in-law of the countess Julie, had taken the latter, who was otherwise fond of retirement, to court.

Marie Antoinette sought, indeed, the charms of intimate friendship; but this lofty feeling, so rare in ordinary life, never can subsist in all its purity between monarchs and subjects, because the intrigues and the jealousies of courtiers oppose an invincible obstacle to it. This very dangerous error was productive of baneful consequences for the tranquillity and the happiness of the queen. Julie de Polignac herself possessed the greatest modesty, but her relatives saw in her elevation the infallible means of founding their own fortune, and of fixing themselves in the queen's favour. The countess Diane, sister of M. de Polignac, baron de Besenval, and M. de Vaudreuil, resorted, therefore, to an expedient which could not fail to produce the desired effect. They prevailed upon the countess Julie to write a letter to her illustrious patroness, whose kindness for her *protégée* had not yet been expressed by any active tokens. In this letter she bade her an affecting farewell, intimating that she must retire from court for ever, as her slender means forbade the expense of a longer residence there: at the same time she dwelt upon the affliction which the separation from a person so dear to her as her majesty must cause her. The queen, unused to be thwarted, now resolved to keep Julie about her for

good; and her husband was in consequence appointed her master of the horse.

A familiar circle was soon formed at court, consisting of Julie and Diane de Polignac, Mesdames d'Andlau and de Chalon, and Messrs. de Guignes, Coigny, Adhemar, Besenval, colonel of the Swiss, Polignac, Vaudreuil, Guiche, the prince de Ligne, and the duke of Dorset, the English ambassador. Lamballe, who was rather jealous of the influence of the countess de Polignac, abstained from cultivating any intimate acquaintance with her, as the queen had wished her to do. The favour enjoyed by the countess made her many enemies at court, and the family of Noailles, in particular, considered itself wronged and affronted. There was now to be seen in the circle and the *salon* of the countess de Polignac a public office, from which places, embassies, pensions, favours of every kind, were dispensed to her *protégés*. This did the queen incalculable injury, and it was one of the principal causes that rendered her so generally detested. Countess Julie was created a duchess, and appointed *gouvernante* of the royal children; her husband united with his place of master of the horse that of director-general of the posts; and Marie Antoinette daily spent great part of her time in her company and that of the above-named persons, where the news of the town and the events of the day were canvassed and scandalous anecdotes frequently related. But her endeavours to draw the duke de Choiseul, for whom she entertained a strong partiality, to court again, proved ineffectual. All the rest of the family, excepting the king, took extraordinary pleasure in *fêtes*, theatrical representations, country parties, nocturnal promenades, and the like.

And who durst attempt to dissuade the young, handsome, and lively queen by cold arguments from these in

themselves innocent amusements? None but a mother or a husband could have a right to do so. The latter threw no impediment whatever in her way, and was a slave to all her wishes and caprices. Unfortunately, she could not sufficiently conceal the exultation which she felt on account of her power over the king's heart and her influence upon his actions.

Louis retired to rest every night at eleven o'clock precisely, and nothing could induce him to deviate from this practice. He had long shared the conjugal couch with his consort; but the noise which was involuntarily occasioned by her return home frequently at very late hours, disturbed his sleep, and it was agreed between them that the queen should give him notice the day before when she intended to stay out: in this case, he slept in a bed prepared in another room. In winter, Marie Antoinette very often went to the masquerades at the opera-house, attended by only one of her ladies; and in fine summer nights she took delight in having music and concerts performed in the gardens of Versailles. Nothing could be more innocent than this amusement, concerning which, however, all France, nay, almost all Europe, talked in a manner most derogatory to the queen.

The most atrocious libels, the most scandalous lampoons, relative to trivial circumstances which occurred during these nocturnal diversions, were circulated in Paris, and caught up with the greatest avidity by the credulous inhabitants of the capital. The following fact may serve to throw some light on the nature of many of these scurrilous publications.

Information was secretly communicated that a work, in the highest degree defamatory of the queen, was preparing somewhere or other. The lieutenant of police commissioned Goupil, the inspector, to make in-

quiries into the matter, and to find out the author. He came in a short time, and reported that the work was printing at a country-house near Yverdun. He brought with him two printed sheets, containing the basest slanders, but fabricated with such extraordinary art and malignity as to appear extremely probable. Goupil said that he should be able to get possession of the whole, but for that purpose a considerable sum would be required. He was furnished with three thousand louis-d'ors. It was not long before he brought the whole of the manuscript to the lieutenant, and was paid an additional sum of one thousand louis-d'ors as a reward for his zeal and exertions. He was on the point of being promoted to a more lucrative situation, when another spy, envious of his good fortune, disclosed that Goupil was himself the author of the libel in question, that ten years before he had been confined in the Bicêtre for picking pockets, and that it was only three years since his wife had left the Salpetrière, where she had been confined under another name. Madame Goupil had, besides, some intrigues with cardinal Rohan, to whom she always gave the assurance that she would reconcile him with the queen.

Great numbers of curious people, attracted by the nightly concerts, were sent back by the sentinels; the consequence was great discontent; the most infamous stories were trumped up concerning this new amusement, and found but too ready a circulation in Paris by means of the most disgusting songs and ballads.

The following circumstance, however, tended to make the royal authority more odious and more ridiculous than any of the foregoing:—

While all France, inflamed by the Anglo-American war, by Franklin and Lafayette, talked of nothing but liberty, the equal rights of all men, and the like, Segur,

the minister, promulgated an edict of the king's, which, annulling that of the 1st of November, 1750, declared every officer, whose family had not been noble for four generations, incapable of attaining the rank of captain, and for ever disqualified all members of the *bourgeoisie* to hold commissions. This silly and most unreasonable ordinance, which, one would say, could have emanated only from the brain of an insane minister, produced an extraordinary effect on the minds of the French, had the most mischievous consequences at the time of the revolution, and was to a certainty one of the principal causes of the persecution and the total annihilation of the nobility. It was proclaiming, in other words, that genius, talent, and science, must grovel for ever in the dust; and that for idle ignorance and self-conceited stupidity alone should be reserved the privilege of consuming in sloth the produce of the taxes wrung from the *bourgeoisie*.

The absurdity of this edict soon appeared in the most glaring light. As, in the artillery, the officers were subjected to a strict examination, it turned out that this branch of the service must have remained entirely without officers if that edict had been literally enforced, as none but commoners were found deserving of the requisite testimonials.

It is impossible to convey an adequate idea of the just indignation which this senseless decree excited among the *bourgeoisie*. The provinces of France abounded in wealthy, industrious citizens and landed proprietors, who paid immense contributions to the state. When such private persons had several sons, they destined one for the service of the king, another for the church, a third for the magistracy, and so forth; while the patrimonial property devolved to the eldest; and now such a father, who had given his children the most care-

ful and finished education, was all at once prevented from obtaining even the appointment of sub-lieutenant for one of his sons; while the most consummate block-head was put at the head of companies and regiments, because one of his ancestors had rendered some contemptible service to some contemptible great man, or perhaps actually did possess merit, no part of which, however, had been transmitted to his descendant.

Another regulation of the court's, which was strongly supported by the Abbé Vermond himself, but which could not be promulgated by an edict, produced not less excitement. According to this regulation, all ecclesiastical benefices were in future to be given to none but poor nobles.

Since the year 1783, Calonne had been at the head of the finances. His sole concern was to conceal the wretched state of them by all possible means: he introduced, therefore, no retrenchments, and resorted to none of the expedients adopted by his predecessors, Turgot and Necker, for correcting the evil. All that he aimed at was to dazzle the world by a semblance of improvement; for which delusive object he had recourse to all sorts of arts, and at first not without success.

For his appointment as comptroller-general he was principally indebted to count d'Artois; the parliament was adverse to it, as well as the nation; the courtiers alone feasted themselves with hopes of passing at least some years in undisturbed tranquillity and in the enjoyment of their pleasures. The king himself took courage when he conversed with the new minister, who treated the embarrassment of the finances as a mere bagatelle, and with triumphant look pointed out inexhaustible resources for the future.

Calonne negociated loans and anticipations, issued

edicts for raising subsidies, imposed new taxes, and carried into effect all these measures with such ease as none of his predecessors had experienced. The credit which Necker had created by a sort of punctuality was kept up by Calonne's apparent confidence, and even by the cheerfulness which he every where manifested. He was favoured by a peace, honourable for the nation and beneficial to commerce.

It was not very difficult for a frivolous minister to throw dust for a short time in the eyes of a frivolous nation; and the maxim, "Let things take their course," became the order of the day. Before Calonne's appointment, nothing was so much dreaded at court-entertainments as the appearance of the comptroller-general; he, on the contrary, diffused by his coming universal good-humour and satisfaction by his ever-cheerful look, which seemed to approve all that was going forward. He heightened the charm of these *fêtes* by the agreeableness of his conversation and especially by the readiness with which he promised to gratify every wish. If count d'Artois had suffered a considerable loss at play, Calonne soon contrived to supply it. If the queen wanted presents or favours for the friends of her friend, the duchess de Polignac, the comptroller-general had always a place or a suitable domain in reserve; or, if she interested herself in behalf of any officer or artist, Calonne had money at her immediate disposal. In public, he jeered at the economists; in private, he gave them to understand that he was precisely of their way of thinking, at the same time assuring them that, if he acted Colbert to-day, he would be Sully on the morrow.

Necker, though in disgrace and retirement, was still a public man through the reputation which his talents as a writer had acquired him. His book on the admi-

nistration of the finances produced as powerful an effect as if he had still been at the head of them. Lawyers, magistrates, prelates, and even military men, studied that work to qualify themselves for rigid censors of the ruling government. From the introduction to this work, it was clear that Necker had intended it for a panegyric on himself and a satire on the then minister. Calonne affected unconcern, high spirits, magnanimity, though this work of his predecessor's had an important and frequently adverse effect on many of his proceedings.. Calonne was hated by the parliament, but at the same time feared on account of his bad character, and this kept its members somewhat in check.

In the year 1785, however, the parliament opposed a new loan of eighty millions, as well as the borrowing of other sums upon pledge; and, when forced to register these measures, it annexed its formal protest to the act. It was summoned to Versailles to see this protest erased, and complied with a submission that was not expected. Calonne triumphed, but Louis became uneasy after holding a *lit de justice;* he fancied himself in the way to become a despot. He continually repeated to his ministers: "No new loans, no new taxes, and no opposition to the parliaments!"

The court, its different parties, and especially the nobility, now fell lower and lower in the public opinion, and to this result the above-mentioned edicts largely contributed. The nobility, on their part, were highly offended whenever the king merely afforded room to infer that he meant to reward merit only and not hereditary prerogatives. That commoners should have a voice in the king's council, and even influence its decisions, drove several old nobles nearly to despair, and caused it to be prophesied that the end of the world was at hand.

A circumstance, which is absolutely unparalleled in the annals of history, gave a last fatal stroke to the expiring popularity of the royal family, and extinguished the faint sparks of respect that still glimmered here and there for Marie Antoinette. We allude to the notorious affair of the necklace, by which, without any fault of hers, the name of the queen was mixed up before a court of justice with the names of the most contemptible creatures—those of a prostitute (Oliva), a swindler (Cagliostro), a procuress (Madame La Motte), and a forger (Villette).

Prince Louis de Rohan, whom we have seen as ambassador to the Austrian court, and who had since become cardinal and grand-almoner, had after his return to France fallen desperately in love with the queen, whom he had made his bitter enemy. He was in despair because he could not find means to approach Marie Antoinette, though, according to general rumour which he firmly believed, she favoured so many others far inferior in rank to himself. In this state he became acquainted with a countess La Motte, who gave herself out for a descendant of an illegitimate branch of the royal house of Valois. To this artful woman he communicated his secret passion, and on this information she founded the following plan.

She first intended to make the cardinal believe that she had succeeded in gaining the confidence of the queen; that she had expatiated so much on his rare qualities, that the princess had by degrees conceived a more favourable opinion of him, and meant to restore him to her favour, and even to enter into a private correspondence with him; but, till the moment when she could give him public demonstrations of her kindness, all communications between them were to pass through the hands of La Motte.

At this time, Böhmer, a jeweller in Paris, was in possession of a valuable diamond necklace, which he valued at eighteen hundred thousand livres. La Motte learned that the queen had seen and much admired it, but would not ask the king to buy it, because the money could not then be spared. La Motte, too, had seen and admired the diamonds at the jeweller's; and he had told her that he should be glad to make a handsome present to any one who would help him to a customer for the necklace. The crafty woman formed a bold plan for securing both. She told the cardinal that the queen, with whom she had never exchanged a single word, had expressed her anxious desire to possess this rare ornament, to buy it unknown to the king, and to pay for it by instalments out of the savings of her privy purse; that, in giving this commission to the cardinal, she conferred on him a signal token of her favourable disposition; that he should be furnished with a written authority to purchase the necklace in her name; but that, in his arrangement with the jeweller, his own name only was to appear, and the instalments were to be made payable quarterly; and that she asked this service of him as a proof of her unlimited confidence.

The cardinal fell into the snare. He was furnished with the promised authority, forged, of course; purchased the necklace, delivered it to the countess for the queen, was introduced by La Motte in a nightly interview in the gardens of Versailles to a prostitute named Oliva, whom she had trained to personate the queen, and was enraptured to receive from her a few words signifying her perfect satisfaction.

When the time for payment arrived, Rohan, who had not funds of his own, was obliged to disclose to the jeweller that it was for the queen that he had purchased the necklace. After waiting a considerable time in vain, Böhmer applied in August, 1785, to the king.

An explanation naturally ensued; the roguery was discovered, and the cardinal, La Motte, Villette, Oliva, Cagliostro, his wife, and some others were sent to the Bastille. The affair was referred to the decision of the parliament, which in May, 1786, acquitted Rohan and the prostitute, and sentenced La Motte to be whipped, branded, and imprisoned for life, and Villette and Cagliostro to be banished the kingdom. La Motte's husband, who had gone to England with the booty, was condemned to the galleys. In about nine months she escaped, or was suffered to escape, and rejoined her husband in London, where he had disposed of the necklace, and where they published a work filled with the most virulent abuse of the queen. In August, 1791, she put an end to her life by throwing herself from a window on the third floor in the house in which she lived.

At the express desire of the queen, Rohan, immediately after his release, was dismissed from the office of grand-almoner, and exiled to the abbey of La Chaise Dieu, in Auvergne, whence he was called by his election as deputy to the states-general.

The decision of the parliament overwhelmed the court with astonishment and mortification, and filled the nation with the wildest and most triumphant joy. The queen, who was perfectly innocent, was accused of being the sole author of this disgraceful transaction, which furnished occasion for the grossest scandal.

CHAPTER IV.

ASSEMBLY OF THE NOTABLES.

These unequivocal symptoms of general aversion and discontent, together with the wretched state of the finances, ought to have rendered Calonne extremely

cautious. The danger of such a situation, which must have been apparent to the most obtuse mind, could not possibly have escaped so sharpsighted a minister; but, the more he was convinced that a revolution was inevitable, the more honour he sought in directing it; and the embarrassments of the royal exchequer, instead of alarming him, only served to inflame still more his desire to remedy all the abuses of the administration, and to give the kingdom a new form by one grand stroke. To this end he proposed the convocation of an assembly of Notables, that is, of the most distinguished members of the clergy, the nobility, the magistracy, and the heads of the municipalities. He had long prepared the king for so extraordinary a measure, and conceived that, when he had once taken the first step, he must be hurried further by the stream of opinion. He was well aware that it was indeed dangerous to associate, as it were, by way of council, the *élite* of the nation with the king; but he expected by means of this convocation to gain the mass entirely for himself, and through such of the Notables as were devoted to him to direct the others at pleasure, and to counterbalance any unforeseen opposition from the princes, the ministers, or the councillors of state. "And if I fall," said Calonne to several of his intimate friends, "it will be an honourable fall; for all the plans that I propose are absolutely necessary for the welfare of France, and must sooner or later be adopted."

On the 29th of December, 1786, when the king was leaving the council of despatches, he declared that it was his intention to convoke an assembly of the principal persons of the kingdom, in order to consult with them how to afford relief to the people, to remedy abuses, and to restore order in the finances: he added that he had drawn up a list of the persons whom he had

selected, and that the letters of convocation were ready to be sent off.

The court was thunderstruck at this resolution. Nobody could comprehend its object. The courtiers were astounded to see the king all at once so bold and decided; neither could they better comprehend the hardihood of Calonne. "Is then," said they, "the comptroller-general aware that he is delivering himself up by this measure to his enemies? Can he be unacquainted with the intrigues of the archbishop of Toulouse and others? Instead of instituting a council to assist and to support him, he is erecting a tribunal that will pass sentence upon him. M. de Calonne possesses abundance of understanding, but very little knowledge of mankind."

The parliament strove to conceal their mortification, but imagined that in this measure they perceived the overthrow of their rights. The novelty of the thing, nevertheless, excited interest and great expectations; while many regarded it only as a cunningly devised scheme tending to an increase of the taxes.

On the 22nd of February, 1787, the king opened the first session of the Notables with a common-place speech, in which he stated that it was necessary to adopt important measures, the plan of which should be communicated to them. Miromenil, keeper of the seals, had also to deliver a trivial address; while Calonne reserved for himself the part of astonishing the assembly and France by a brilliant and impressive display of eloquence. He began with describing the flourishing state of the kingdom, of which he presented a striking and attractive picture. How to pass from this pleasing fable to the acknowledgment of the awful state of the finances, and ultimately of the enormous deficit, was no easy problem. The comptroller-general

declared that ever since the commencement of the century the finances had been mismanaged, and that it had been impossible for a better administration in so few years to remedy the evil. He confessed at last that the deficit had increased in so frightful a manner as to render immediate relief most urgently necessary, and that this could be obtained only by a tax on immoveable property, to which the clergy and nobility, without regard to their privileges, must contribute in equal proportion with the other classes. It was the same system on which honest Turgot had formerly been wrecked. The origin of the deficit, which now amounted to 115 millions per annum, Calonne justly dated centuries back; but at the same time he admitted that he had been forced to augment it by 35 millions. His brilliant oratory could not diminish the ill effect produced on the assembly, but particularly on the nobility and the clergy, by his proposals for extinguishing this deficit, which was indeed known to be considerable, but not supposed to be so enormous. After a rather obscure and ambiguous speech delivered by the first president of the parliament of Paris, the sitting terminated in gloomy silence, and the archbishop of Narbonne muttered a few cold expressions of thanks for the king.

Such was the melancholy effect of the first meeting, from which Calonne had anticipated extraordinary results, and by which he had hoped to excite general enthusiasm. The public indeed read his speech with interest, but said: "These are fine projects, but some other must carry them into execution; for what guarantee can be given us by so pliant and so prodigal a minister!"— People missed Necker, and imagined that, if he had continued at the helm, the dismal word *deficit* would not have been heard. The clergy, the nobles, Calonne's

former enemies, and even the queen, at the persuasion of Vermond, who had been gained by the archbishop of Toulouse, Brienne, were adverse to the comptroller-general; and intrigues were set on foot on all sides against his plans. He strove, in a general meeting, to disperse the gathering storm, but failed; and on the following day the archbishop of Narbonne declared in Monsieur's bureau that Calonne was deceiving the king, France, and Europe, if he pretended to make the world believe that the Notables would assent to his system; he objected to any tax upon immoveable property, and proposed a formal protest against the speech of the comptroller-general, which was soon subscribed. All the other bureaux, and even that of count d'Artois, followed this example. The matter became public; it was asserted that the deficit amounted, instead of 115, to 160 millions; and the king was at length persuaded to dismiss Calonne, who had only the preceding day effected the removal of his most determined opponent, Miromenil, keeper of the seals, and begun to fancy that he should triumph. Peace was now restored in the assembly of the Notables, and a desire to support the king became general. As the evil was believed to be greater than it had been stated, the assembly was solicitous to render the relief the more effective. The tax on immoveable property, without regard to the privileged classes, was granted; and as this did not suffice to cover the deficit, a stamp-duty, estimated to produce 30 millions, was likewise voted. The assembly unanimously besought the king and the princes to retrench the expenses of their establishments as much as possible, that, for the honour of France, the ministers might be able to fulfil the obligations which the State had contracted.

All this was the work of the archbishop of Toulouse,

who now entered the ministry with the title of president of the council of finance. The proposed reforms were not carried into effect without opposition from the courtiers, especially the Coignys and the Polignacs, whom the king himself strove to persuade by arguments to submit to necessity; and on the 25th of May, 1787, the last meeting of the Notables concluded amidst mutual congratulations on the success of the most honest intentions and plans.

In a few days, however, it appeared that the resolutions of this assembly had not answered the expectations which were formed of them. The nobility of the provinces complained bitterly that they had been betrayed by the nobles of the court; the clergy were still more dissatisfied with the prelates who had represented them in the assembly; many persons were even highly displeased that the business had terminated so peaceably, because this result was directly contrary to their greedy and selfish views. Not content with a financial revolution, they wanted a political revolution. They had hoped for a general movement of the nation, and saw nothing but the success of a court intrigue. The parliament had, without much difficulty, accepted two of the edicts proposed by the Notables, namely, the abolition of feudal services and the free trade in corn; but to the proposal of a stamp-duty it was firmly resolved to make the most obstinate resistance; to the general land-tax, to which it was particularly adverse, it would also fain have shown its hostility, had it not been apprehensive that it should thereby render itself odious to the greater part of the nation.

No sooner did it transpire that the parliament was preparing for an obstinate resistance to the court, than all the adversaries of the latter, consisting chiefly of young advocates and other lawyers, rallied round the

magistracy. Every sitting of the parliament on this matter was stormy, and the vast hall could not contain the concourse of inquisitive auditors. The old councillors, who wished to proceed cautiously, were intimidated by the most violent threats, while wreaths of laurel were thrown to the boldest orators who thundered against the ministers. The dukes and peers who attended this assembly, and spoke against the court, as most of them did, were received with extraordinary demonstrations of applause; and Espréménil in particular became the idol of the people, even while he was defending the imaginary rights of the nobility.

It was generally surmised, but without foundation, that the agents of England, which was thought to owe France a grudge for the loss of her American colonies, had a great hand in producing this universal ferment and agitation. With far more truth they may be in part attributed to the machinations of the duke of Orleans. Louis Philip, great grandson of the regent duke of Orleans, born in 1747, seemed to have scarcely any other ambition than to rival his ancestor in every species of debauchery. Married to the daughter of the duke de Penthièvre, he took pains to initiate her brother, the prince de Lamballe, into the excesses by which he ruined his health and shortened his life, in order that he might inherit his property. As he was to succeed his father-in-law in the office of high admiral, he thought fit to make a naval campaign in 1778, and took the command of the rear-division of the French fleet in the action off Ushant, with admiral Keppel. On this occasion, when the French commander appeared anxious only to avoid an engagement, the duke de Chartres, which was his title till his father's death in 1787, was reported to have retired to the hold of his ship, to be out of the reach of danger. This story,

industriously circulated, was believed at court; and Louis, instead of making him high-admiral, appointed him colonel-general of hussars—a slight that is believed to have kindled in his mind the hatred which he ever afterwards bore to the king and queen.

During the session of the Notables, this prince had not awoke from the apathy with which he seemed to endure the contemptuous coldness of the court and the scorn of the people, had taken less share than any of the princes in the important deliberations, and was amusing himself with the chase, while the opposition was inveighing against Calonne. A butt for the lowest slanders, epigrams, and pasquinades, he affected wholly to despise the public opinion. But this indifference was only dissembled, and he waited for the suitable moment when he might the more surely revenge himself upon a court which he hated, and to which he ascribed the general disdain that was shown him. After the session of the Notables was over, he formed a party in the parliament of Paris, and his confidants had frequent interviews with young counsellors, who were animated by a love of liberty and a desire to distinguish themselves by their talents.

For some time the archbishop of Toulouse was gratified to observe the opposition of the parliaments, since it appeared to be directed against the administration of Calonne, who was persecuted after his dismissal, and whose abuses and misrepresentations were the theme of invective in every sitting: there was even talk of bringing him to trial. The king, in order to rescue him, gave him fresh proofs of his displeasure and exiled him to Lorraine. Even then the storm had not yet spent itself. Necker, in bulky pamphlets, attributed the entire deficit to him alone. Calonne went to England, and

replied to Necker and the parliament with acuteness and modesty.

Had the minister-archbishop (Brienne) known how to avail himself of the advantages of his position, had he proceeded without delay to carry into execution the measures approved by the Notables, and submitted them all together to the parliament, the latter would certainly have been obliged to yield, and he would have prevented the great struggle that soon afterwards commenced. But, by laying the edicts separately before the parliament, he allowed it abundant time to deliberate and to take courage.

A pun of a counsellor's, who was connected with the duke of Orleans, gave rise, during the session of the parliament, to the first idea of the convocation of the states. A proposal for an application to government for statements (*états*) showing the particulars of its expenditure was under discussion. "*Ce ne sont pas des états,*" exclaimed this counsellor, "*mais des états-generaux qu'il nous faut*"—a *jeu de mots*, which cannot be preserved in another language, and signifies: "It is not *statements* but *states-general* that we want." The laughter which burst forth at this expression caused the less astonishment to be felt at its boldness. The speaker continued to explain himself, and gave it as his opinion that every thing ought to be done to embarrass the court. Some courageous members supported him; the assembly came to no decision, and adjourned the consideration of this proposal; but the public, when informed of it, eagerly caught at the idea, and the universal and enthusiastic cry was: "The States-general!" though many knew not the meaning of the term. At the very next sitting, the question of their convocation was discussed.

The peers repaired to the parliament: several of

them had been among the Notables, and these seemed themselves to wish for a National Assembly. The spirit of the parliament appeared to be suddenly changed; all the old principles and maxims of prudence were rejected; and those speakers who strove to give a different direction to the public opinion, by drawing terrible pictures of the sanguinary consequences almost always produced by the States-general, were told that those times were past, and that every thing was now altered.

It was at length resolved, though by only a small majority of votes, to make a third remonstrance against the registration of the stamp-tax and the extraordinary land-tax, and to inform the king that the states-general alone had a right to grant such imposts, and that in this matter the parliament was obliged to declare itself incompetent. The parliament, in fact, had not taken up the measure in good earnest, as it sufficiently proved by charging Terrand, the counsellor, who was most hostile to the proceeding, to draw up the third remonstrance to the king. But it was too late: the word "States-general" had electrified the brain of all the French, and seemed, like lightning, to purify the whole atmosphere. The court was alarmed at this unexpected representation. The king affected not to understand it, and held a public, formal, *lit de justice*, at which he caused the new taxes to be registered. The parliament deemed a simple protest against this compulsory registration not sufficient, and on the following day declared what had been done null and void.

Monsieur and count d'Artois were directed to cause the edicts to be registered, the one at the Court of Accompts, the other at the Excise Office, on which occasion count d'Artois was hooted, being considered

as a patron and adherent of Calonne's: a riot arose when he was descending the steps of the palace, and it could not be quelled without the interference of the armed force. His brother, on the contrary, was received by the Parisians with loud applause.

The ferment in minds was for some days so violent that a general insurrection was apprehended. The government exiled the whole parliament to Troyes, and there was no disturbance. The counsellors obeyed, but the advocates and the solicitors took good care not to follow them. The parliament held its daily sittings and called causes, but not a single advocate appeared to conduct and to defend them. Brienne, after gaining some of the members, recalled the parliament on the 10th of September. In the negociations which had taken place on this affair, the court had shown weakness and compliance, and had relinquished the imposts which it had demanded as indispensably necessary. The supreme tribunal, on the other hand, revoked its declaration of incompetence.

The capital celebrated the return of these magistrates as a triumph gained over despotism. On the other hand, Orleans and his friends sought to dissuade the parliament from too great deference, with which they began already to reproach it.

Brienne proposed, on condition that a loan of 400 millions should be granted to him for four years, to abandon the new taxes and to convoke the states-general at the end of that term.

On the 19th of November, the king, attended by the princes and the peers, went to the parliament and delivered a speech which produced little impression. Hereupon, Lamoignon, keeper of the seals, made known the will of the king, and intimated that he had determined to convoke the States-general in the year 1792.

He then submitted to the assembly two edicts, one relating to the loan of 400 millions, the other conferring on Protestants the rights of citizens. After much debate, the majority decided, in the presence of the king, in favour of the registration of the loan.

The duke of Orleans suddenly rose, and said: "I ask your majesty whether this sitting is a *lit de justice?*" —"It is a royal sitting," replied the king. Upon this the duke declared that the whole transaction had the air of a *lit de justice;* that his majesty's faithful subjects had hoped that recourse would not again be had to a measure running counter to the laws of the realm; and, at the same time, he stated that he could not help regarding the whole procedure as contrary to law. After a silence of some duration, the king commanded the registration of the loan, and, with the princes and his ministers, retired from the hall, without closing the sitting.

The debates recommenced: the conduct of the duke had inspired the counsellors with fresh courage; the assembly declared that the proceedings were illegal, and that it had no participation in the loan decreed in this manner. This was quite sufficient to render the measure impracticable, as the public opinion was, moreover, decidedly against it.

The archbishop-minister sustained thereby a double defeat, for he had given up the new taxes, and the loan came to nothing. The duke of Orleans was now banished to Villers-Coterets, and two of the most violent of the opposition (Freteau and the abbé Sabathier) were sent to state prisons. Their colleagues presented petitions in their behalf, which had a very threatening aspect; all the superior courts of justice in France held the same language as the parliament of Paris, and what had been done was characterized as an act of arbitrary

tyranny. Orleans vowed to be revenged on the king, as well as on the queen, upon whom he laid the chief blame. He wrote, nevertheless, a most submissive and penitent letter to her majesty, requesting permission to return to Paris. The king yielded to the solicitations of the consort of the duke, who was at first allowed to return only to his seat at Raincy, and subsequently to Paris, after which he granted him a private audience at Versailles.

Brienne was now engaged, with Lamoignon, keeper of the seals, in framing a third and very extensive plan, which, however, was kept a profound secret, that the parliament might know nothing of the matter till it was fully matured. The purport of it was to suppress several chambers of requests and inquiry, so as to reduce the number of the members of the parliament to seventy-six. By this measure they intended to exclude all the young counsellors who were most hostile to their views for ever from the sittings. But the ministers were egregiously mistaken, if they conceived that the others, even though the most distinguished marks of favour might be showered upon them, would quietly look on at such a procedure. Brienne and his colleagues purposed, moreover, by the institution of six *baillages* and a plenary court, to be composed of peers, presidents, and even military officers, which was to pronounce judgment in last instance, and register laws and edicts, to render the authority of the still existing remnant of the parliament as good as null and void. They could not, however, prevent an indistinct rumour of the proposed measures from getting abroad. Though the office where the edicts were printed was surrounded with sentinels, yet Espréménil found means to bribe a person employed in it, and to procure the edicts, which were not to have been made public until

they were communicated to the parliament. Provided with copies of them, he hastened to call the parliament together, gave the alarm, and all was uproar and consternation. As the assembly was not precisely acquainted with the whole plan, it adopted the measure of anew confirming all the fundamental laws of the realm, and declared the following points among others as sacred and inviolable: The right of the reigning family to the throne, in the order of primogeniture; the right of the nation to grant or reject imposts through regularly appointed States-general; the inviolability of magistrates and judges; security of the person and property of every citizen; a law enacting that no one should be imprisoned without being immediately delivered up to his proper judge; the right of courts of justice to investigate the commands of the king, and not to approve them unless they were not contrary to the laws. By these resolutions it was thought in Paris that provision would be made against all possible plans of the ministers not conformable to law.

Brienne was confounded when he learned that his plans, which he deemed a most profound secret, were canvassed with great *éclat* by the parliament. In his rage, he ordered the marquis d'Agoust, captain of the guard, to apprehend Espréménil, Goislard, and Monsabert, who had shown most warmth at the sitting, during the night, in their houses: but, having received warning of his intention, they escaped arrest by passing the night from home.

At daybreak, Espréménil hastened to his colleagues, and urged them to assemble. A general meeting was accordingly held. The people poured in a torrent to the palace. Ten thousand persons, many of them armed with weapons of all kinds, were collected in the extensive edifice. The grossest abuse was vented against the ministers, count d'Artois, the queen, and

even the king himself. "We will form with our bodies a rampart for Espréménil!" cried the crowd. At length, d'Agoust arrived at the head of his grenadier company, forced a passage, and penetrated into the midst of the assembly. As he was not acquainted with the persons of the members whom he came to seize, he called them by name. Deep silence ensued; almost all of the counsellors then cried: "I am Espréménil." A unanimous "bravo!" rang through the hall. The members, whose names had been called, then stepped forward, gave themselves up, and followed the grenadiers without resistance. The crowd escorted them, with loud and tumultuous applause. They were conducted to prison. The parliament broke up; the mob dispersed, insulted the sentinels, and the guards closed the avenues to the palace.

Three days afterwards, the king caused the edicts to be registered in a *lit de justice*. A death-like silence prevailed the whole time; the king left the hall, and the members of the parliament and several peers renewed their opposition. Meanwhile, the disorders in the administration increased to the highest degree; the archbishop acted like a man bereft of his senses; in all the provinces a spirit of discontent and agitation manifested itself more or less. In Bretagne, it assumed a very dangerous character; Nantes and Rennes were in a state of almost incessant riot; Dauphiné made urgent remonstrances, and the whole of the clergy declared itself adverse to the institution of a supreme tribunal. The king at length relinquished this plan, and promised the convocation of the States-general on the 1st of May, 1789.

The archbishop-minister had, it is true, formed a plan that was still more extensive than the other, but

which he was just as incapable of executing. His credit was utterly gone, and he had himself sunk so low in the public estimation that a general bankruptcy was apprehended. He now advised the king once more to commit the administration of the finances to the able hands of Necker. In order to induce him to accept the office, the queen wrote him a very gracious letter; extraordinary promises were made him; and Necker consented to place himself again at the helm. Brienne retired from the ministry, by which he had procured for himself a yearly income of 800,000 livres and the cardinal's hat.

All now seemed to assume a different form, and every body anticipated the best results. The king revoked the edicts which he had so recently carried into effect with all the signs of unlimited power. But, on the day when the parliament again made its entry into Paris, the general rejoicing furnished occasion for the greatest excesses of a licentious anarchy. Vagabonds and adventurers of all kinds ran through the streets of Paris, uttering the vilest abuse of the royal family, firing rockets and guns, and showing a particular malice against the police-officers. Several persons were wounded; the rioters even attacked the guard-houses, some of which they levelled with the ground. Their principal rendezvous was near the statue of Henry IV., at the foot of which they forced several persons, who were pointed out to them as royalists, to beg pardon. These brigands also threatened to plunder the hotel of cardinal de Brienne and the residence of Lamoignon, but were prevented from carrying this menace into effect by a few invalids. They then attacked Dubois, the commandant of the royal guard, in his own house; but he succeeded in collecting the most trustworthy of

his men, whom he ordered to fire upon them. Many were wounded, others killed, upon which the rest fled and dispersed.

These scenes, which were attributed to the machinations of the duke of Orleans and the revenge of England, made no great impression on people's minds; they were pacified by the idea of the approaching convocation of the States-general, which were to assemble on the 1st of May, according to the promise of the king himself. A violent dispute now arose respecting the part which the so-called *tiers état*, the third estate, or the commons, was to act in this assembly. The parliament insisted that the forms of 1614 should be retained, by which this estate, always the most respectable, would have been reduced to a troop of mutes. By this proposition, so utterly discordant with the spirit of the time, the parliament entirely lost the popular favour, which it had in a great measure sacrificed by its opposition to the intended grant of civil rights to Protestants.

This question now became the apple of discord, which occupied and divided all France. The parliament of Paris found itself suddenly forsaken by its best and boldest champions, who reproached it with throwing away by this indiscretion the fruit of all its preceding victories. The court itself was split into two parties, which most cordially hated and persecuted one another. The duke of Orleans now declared himself unreservedly in favour of the *tiers état*, and eagerly seized every occasion for exciting the enthusiasm of the people. Many of the nobles, who had served in the war of American independence, followed his example, as did also the majority of the nation. All the brave soldiers, whom the new edicts deprived of the reward of their services, prided themselves on belonging to the *bourgeoisie*, which their

young and vain colonels had often made a subject of reproach; they conceived that the time was drawing near when merit, and not the imaginary advantages of accidental birth, would gain them promotion. The poor country clergy, too, now hoped to be permitted to aspire to the higher and more lucrative dignities in the church; and the peasants no longer deemed themselves bound to pay the greatest part of the produce of their toil to haughty and in many cases cruel lords, as a tribute that was their due. Authors and men of letters shunned the nobility and the court, and piqued themselves on belonging to that class from which the Corneilles, Racines, Molières, Boileaus, Voltaires, Rousseaus, and other eminent geniuses had sprung. In many towns were formed societies for the sole object of upholding the honour of the third estate: wit and satire vied with each other in making the nobles ridiculous and, consequently, contemptible. It was debated in all the public places, in pamphlets, and in the daily papers, in the theatres and in the taverns, what rights ought to be allowed to the *tiers état* in the assembly of the States-general; whether it ought to be placed on an equality with the other estates in point of number; whether the votes were to be given individually or by states; whether the *tiers état* was to have but *one* vote to the two of the other states — and so forth. Necker called together a second assembly of the Notables to decide all these questions. The first sitting was held on the 9th of November, 1788, and the Notables rejected by a small majority the doubling, that is to say, the equalizing of the number of the third estate with that of the two others. On the 12th of December, the session closed, and, on the 27th, the king, in spite of the opinion of the assembly, directed that the third estate should be equal in number to the other two, but

that each estate should deliberate by itself. The *tiers état* expressed its gratitude to the king. Conscious of its strength, and convinced that it really represented the nation, it said to itself: "We will force the clergy and the nobles to a joint deliberation, which the king and his ministers have disapproved, probably for fear of offending those gentlemen."

Unfortunately, the summer of 1788 had been marked by a natural calamity, which assisted not a little to increase the general discontent, especially in the capital, by producing a scarcity of the prime necessaries of life. On Sunday, the 13th of July, about nine in the morning, an awful darkness suddenly overspread a great portion of France; it was succeeded by a tempest unexampled in the temperate climates of Europe. Wind, rain, thunder, seemed to vie in fury; but hail was the principal instrument of devastation. The rich prospect of an early harvest was changed in an hour to the dreary appearance of universal winter. The ground was converted into a morass, the standing corn beaten into the quagmire, the vines and the fruit-trees were broken in pieces, and unmelted hail lay in heaps like rocks of solid ice. The very forest-trees were unable to withstand the violence of the tempest. The hail consisted of solid, angular lumps of ice, some of them weighing from eight to ten ounces. The country-people, beaten down in the fields on their way to church, and terrified by this concussion of the elements, concluded that the last day had arrived, and lay despairing, half suffocated amidst the water and mud, expecting the immediate dissolution of all things. A tract of sixty square leagues had not a single ear of corn or fruit of any kind left. The Isle of France, in which Paris is situated, and the Orleannois, suffered most; the damage done there amounting on a moderate esti-

mate to eighty millions of livres, or between three and four millions sterling. Such a calamity, occurring amidst a general scarcity throughout Europe, and on the eve of a great political revolution, was peculiarly unfortunate: many families found it necessary to contract their expenses and to discharge their servants, who were thus left destitute of bread; added to the public discontents and political dissensions, it produced such an effect on the people in general, that the nation seemed to have changed its character, and, instead of that levity by which it had ever been distinguished, a settled gloom seemed to cloud every face.

This calamity was succeeded by a winter more severe than any that had been known for nearly a century past. All the efforts of beneficence, and the extensive charities of the clergy in particular, could not keep pace with the distress prevailing in the capital, where the immense mass of indigence was swelled by numbers of vagabonds and dissolute persons, without profession and without resources, who thronged thither from all parts of France, eager to join in any tumult and to profit by any chances.

Nobody took such advantage of these circumstances as the duke of Orleans, whose extraordinary wealth enabled him to confer benefits equally extraordinary on the lower classes of the people. A thousand humane acts were related of him, all of which, however, were performed with a criminal design. By these means he, nevertheless, made himself the man of the people; and this prince, who shortly before was an object of general contempt, was now extolled to the skies, while others, who had done as much in proportion, nay, perhaps more, were scarcely mentioned.

The time now approached for the election of deputies to the States-general. The whole nation was in motion, and in many provinces great agitation prevailed. Men

of letters, advocates, tradesmen, assembled either to procure their own election or to influence that of others: societies, called clubs, were formed, which served to develop the talent for public speaking, but which did infinite mischief. Count Mirabeau, who was rejected by the nobles, and who had displayed eminent ability in a suit with his wife at Aix, was elected a representative of the *tiers état*, whose idol he became. He inveighed with fulminating eloquence against the nobles and the aristocracy, whom he designated as persecutors of the people and enemies to himself. His speeches re-echoed in the remotest corners of the kingdom, and every where awakened a desire to imitate him. Meanwhile the deputies of each estate arrived in the capital with totally different views of their vocation, and many with diametrically opposite intentions. Some had before their eyes Spartan, others Roman, others again English or American institutions. This was for carrying into practice Rousseau's principles, that Montesquieu's or the abbé Mably's. The day for the opening of the States-general was close at hand. France will sink into an abyss, prophesied some; France will attain the pinnacle of greatness and prosperity, insisted others; and the predictions of both were successively verified.

CHAPTER V.

STATE OF EUROPE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

At the time of the convocation of the States-general in France, all the other countries of Europe were governed with much moderation. Among all the sovereigns, most of whom ruled with unlimited sway, none

could justly be charged with tyranny. The philosophic spirit of the eighteenth century had penetrated to the foot of several thrones, and the monarchs made a temperate use of their power. On the one hand, the progress of knowledge, or, as it has since been the fashion to call it, the march of intellect, and the increase of luxury, combined with an easy morality, tended to the extinction of institutions and usages originating in the ages of barbarism; and a growing religious toleration contributed not less to the enlightenment and the social improvement of nations. There was, nevertheless, a great difference between the too great divisions of Europe. In the south, the spirit of peace had almost degenerated into indolent apathy; in the north, the spirit of enterprize was carried to the length of feverish excitement. In the former, the progress of improvement was slower and less perceptible; in the latter, it was more rapid and made more noise. In the south, pleasure was the main object; in the north, glory, and military glory in particular.

One striking feature of the age was the esteem into which agriculture had risen. It employed the reasoning of the philosopher, and was cherished by the bounty of kings; and, as a natural consequence of this taste, protection was extended to the aggrieved and patient race of men by whom it was carried on. The bonds of vassalage were relaxed or wholly removed. The empress Catherine promoted the enfranchisement of the serfs by her edicts, her example, and her influence; in Poland, under the patronage of the king, it had become a sort of fashion among the nobles to give freedom to their peasants; and in the north, in general, this class was advancing towards complete and universal freedom.

Commerce was no longer deemed degrading. The pre-eminence which Britain had acquired by this pur-

suit among the nations of Europe stimulated the sovereigns of other states to encourage it among their own subjects. To this end, most of them established and supported manufactories of different kinds, erected trading companies, and assisted them with loans; crowned heads became partners in commercial speculations, and manufacturers and merchants began to be respected and honoured.

Toleration in religious matters kept pace with the change of opinion on other points. The Romish church had relaxed its ancient bigotry. Necker, the prime-minister of France, was a protestant as well as a foreigner. In Spain, where the clergy might have been expected to maintain their authority, began the destruction of the Jesuits; there, too, the crown was constantly diverting into its coffers fresh portions of the ecclesiastical revenues, with the consent of the Pope; and there the inquisition was shorn of its terrible power, and reduced to a mere tribunal of police, for the punishment after an open trial of flagrant impiety. Similar restraints had been imposed upon it in Sardinia, and it had been wholly abolished without a struggle in many Italian states, in Parma and Placentia, the Milanese, and Modena. In the greater part of the north, toleration was secured by law. In short, never had the power of the church been exercised with so much moderation throughout Europe in general as at this period.

Artificial distinctions and titles of honour were every where giving way to superior talents and personal merit. Men of wit and letters were courted and caressed; they contributed to guide and model public opinion, and to their influence may be attributed many of the salutary measures adopted by governments and the general lenity which now prevailed. Thus, in the administra-

tion of justice, the torture had begun to be generally abolished; where the criminal codes were stained with cruelty, milder punishments were substituted; and liberty of the press was either formally established or tacitly permitted, to an extent sufficient for all the purposes of sober inquiry.

Hence each generation was of a milder and gentler character than the preceding. There was a diffusion of liberality which pervaded the whole mass of mankind. The various classes of society began to harmonize with one another in a degree hitherto unknown. The lowest of the people, even under the most despotic governments, were no longer bowed down with their faces to the earth, but carried their heads erect, with a becoming sense of the dignity of their nature. Such were the bright prospects in which the philosopher and the philanthropist were exulting, when the hurricane of the French revolution arrived and swept them away.

During the six years of peace which had elapsed since the conclusion of the American war, while the resources and the influence of France had kept gradually declining, her great rival, Britain, was fast recovering from the exhausted state in which she was left by that inglorious struggle. The genius of a Brindley, an Arkwright, a Watt, exercised in the extension of inland communication, in the foundation of the cotton manufactures, and in the application of the steam-engine, had given such an impulse to mercantile enterprise and speculation, that the effects were clearly apparent in the increasing revenues and general prosperity of the country; while commerce, instead of suffering by the loss of the American colonies, found new channels, and even traded with the United States to a greater amount than during the time of their dependence. With a public

debt of nearly 250 millions, the annual interest of which fell little short of ten millions, the disposable national revenue of sixteen millions allowed one to be set aside as a sinking-fund for the reduction of that debt. Though a revenue of seven millions, produced by an Indian empire many times as large and populous as the mother country, under the rule of the East India Company, was almost wholly absorbed by the costly establishment maintained there, still the wealth derived from that source, either by means of trade or the fortunes amassed and brought back by individuals, was immense. Such was the effect of the general prosperity on public credit, that the three per cents., which, at the close of the American war, were at 57, had risen to 99.

The throne was filled by a prince who, whatever may be thought of his abilities, cannot be denied the merit of inflexible honesty and integrity of purpose. George III. was also endeared to his people by his private virtues. Mortified by the result of a struggle which had rent so large a portion of the empire from the British crown, but, yielding to necessity, he had dismissed Lord North and the ministers by whose counsels he had been guided during the war. By the succeeding administration under Lord Shelburne a general peace was negociated. It was not long before a coalition was formed between the party of the late minister, the steady supporter of the royal prerogative and the conductor of the American war, and that of Mr. Fox, the opponent of that war, and the eloquent champion of the privileges of the people. Another change of administration was the consequence of this combination of the two most powerful parties, the leaders of which were appointed secretaries of state.

The object of this unnatural union to overawe both the king and the parliament was but too apparent. An

opposition was formed against it, headed in the upper house by the duke of Richmond and lord Thurlow, and in the lower by William Pitt, second son of the celebrated earl of Chatham, and Mr. Jenkinson, subsequently lord Hawkesbury and earl of Liverpool.

Towards the end of 1783, a bill was submitted to parliament by Fox for the management of the affairs of India, by which it was proposed to take the government of the British possessions there from the East India Company, and to vest it in commissioners, appointed not by the crown but by the House of Commons, or rather by the ministers who could control its decisions. Lord Thurlow emphatically declared that this bill, if carried, would take the crown from the king's head, and place it on that of Fox. Such was the apprehension of the ambitious views of that statesman excited in the mind of his majesty, that he resolved to use all his influence to prevent the adoption of this measure; and, in case of emergency, rather to retire to his continental dominions than to remain in England the mere instrument of a parliamentary oligarchy. The bill, after passing the Commons, was thrown out by a small majority in the House of Lords; on which his majesty dismissed Fox and his colleagues, and in January, 1784, called Pitt to superintend his councils. Supported by the king, the new minister firmly resisted all the efforts of his powerful adversaries to remove him from office; an appeal made to the nation by a dissolution of parliament established him in his post, and completed the defeat of what was regarded as a most powerful and dangerous coalition.

The attention of the new minister was incessantly directed to the finances and commerce of the country. Under his auspices, a sinking fund of one million annually was established for the purpose of reducing the

national debt; and in 1786 a commercial treaty was negociated with France. The debates on this treaty in the House of Commons exhibited a singular anomaly. Fox, the man of the people, the would-be champion of liberal sentiments and opinions, and his friends, taunted Pitt with having deserted the antigallican principles of his father and introduced a measure that might cause France to be no longer considered as our natural enemy. They received an emphatic rebuke. The minister observed that "objections were raised against the treaty, because it tended to compose those jealousies and to destroy that rivalship which had so long subsisted between the two countries, and which, it was contended, was of the most salutary consequence to Great Britain. So deeply rooted was this notion, that he was scarcely surprised to hear even enlightened men assert that France and England were naturally and necessarily enemies. To assume that any two states were necessarily enemies was a doctrine not founded either on the experience of nations or the history of man; it was a libel on the constitution of political societies, and supposed the existence of diabolical malice in the original frame of human nature. The fact, he felt convinced, was directly the reverse; for, however ambition might have embroiled the people of the two countries, there had always existed in the individuals of both a disposition towards a friendly intercourse, and the people had each virtues and good qualities, which the other had liberality enough to acknowledge and admire."

The following years were marked by the proceedings against Warren Hastings for alleged acts of inhumanity, rapacity, perfidy, and tyranny committed by him as governor-general of British India. In May, 1787, a vote of impeachment was passed by the House of Commons, and in February following his trial before the

House of Peers was opened with extraordinary solemnity in Westminster Hall; and, though there can now be no doubt that much of the clamour which led to the adoption of that proceeding was unjust, still the minister deemed it expedient to join in the general opinion.

In the course of this year, the English government, having adopted a plan for founding a penal colony in New Holland, instead of confining offenders in the hulks at home, despatched thither two of his majesty's ships, with transports having convicts on board, under the command of Commodore Phillip. In January, 1788, this convoy reached its destination, and Commodore Phillip assumed the office of governor, and, with the small military force and the convicts whom he had brought with him, laid in Sidney Cove the foundation of the capital of the now flourishing British colony in New South Wales.

In April, 1788, a treaty of defensive alliance was concluded between Great Britain and the States-general of the United Provinces, by which his Britannic majesty guaranteed the hereditary stadtholdership in the house of Orange; and in August a treaty of defensive alliance was concluded with Prussia.

In the autumn of that year, the king was afflicted with a mental malady which threatened the speedy dissolution of the administration. The right of the prince of Wales to assume the exercise of the sovereign power during his father's incapacity was strenuously insisted upon by Fox and his partisans, and as strenuously denied by Pitt, unless voluntarily conferred upon the prince by the two houses of parliament. He subsequently brought in a bill for conferring the regency, with certain restrictions, on the prince of Wales; but, before the discussions on this subject were concluded, his majesty's recovery put an end to the proceedings altogether.

The year 1788 was further remarkable for the commencement of those efforts for the abolition of the slave-trade which were afterwards so perseveringly continued by Wilberforce, Clarkson, and other philanthropists, and led not only to the suppression of the odious traffic but to the general emancipation of the Negroes in all the British colonies. In his decided condemnation of the slave-trade, the minister was strenuously supported by his great political opponent.

In May, 1789, the capture of two small trading vessels in Nootka Sound, on the north-west coast of America, by the Spaniards, on the ground that this whole coast, though never occupied by them, belonged to the crown of Spain, led to energetic demonstrations of war with that power. A fleet was instantly equipped; but, the Spanish government having agreed to make compensation, and desisted from its claims to the coast in question, the preparations were suspended, and hostilities averted.

The Austrian empire, situated in the centre of Europe, and whose sovereigns had rendered the title of emperor of Germany almost hereditary in the house of Habsburg, exercised from its position, its strength, and its resources, a powerful influence alike over the east and the west, the north and the south. Its sceptre had devolved, in 1780, to Joseph II., on the death of his mother, Maria Theresa, whose heroic spirit and prudent administration laid the foundation of its present prosperity. With dominions containing nearly twenty-five million inhabitants, a revenue of ninety millions of florins, and a well-appointed army of nearly 400,000 men, Joseph, for some years, manifested the most pacific disposition; his attention being engrossed by various reforms which he strove to carry into effect with more humanity and benevolence than sound policy

and discretion. He abolished the punishment of death, and would have put an end to the servitude of the peasantry, but for the obstinate resistance of the Hungarian nobles. Pope Pius VI., alarmed at the storm with which the emperor's reforms threatened the ecclesiastical hierarchy, appeared as a supplicant at Vienna, without obtaining any thing more than a friendly reception. The emperor had, however, the mortification to see that his subjects, influenced by the clergy, whose enmity he had excited, were adverse to his improvements and innovations, because they could not perceive their object, or appreciate the benevolent intentions of their sovereign.

The house of Austria still possessed that portion of the Netherlands lying between the Seven United Provinces and France. The inconvenient position of these provinces, so distant from the hereditary states, caused the emperor to conceive the design of exchanging them for the neighbouring electorate of Bavaria, but it was frustrated by the vigilance of Frederick the Great, and by the league which he formed with Saxony and Hanover to counteract it. This scheme, when it became known, tended to wean from the emperor the affections of the inhabitants of the Netherlands; and his innovations in religious matters, among a people remarkable for attachment to old institutions, completely alienated them. Joseph had afforded an asylum at Ostend to a colony of Swiss and Genevese, encouraged their turn for commerce and manufactures by various immunities, and granted them the free exercise of their religion. The clergy, and the monks in particular, regarded this act of toleration as a blow secretly aimed at their influence and authority. The university of Louvain, and several other bodies, as well temporal as spiritual, remonstrated against it; the people, uniting somewhat of bigotry

with the industry by which they are distinguished, supported their complaints by murmurs and even by public commotions.

Joseph replied to these remonstrances without contesting the principles laid down in them; and, anticipating the approbation of all enlightened minds, he scrupled not to exercise an absolute authority. He reformed the university of Louvain, abolished the seignorial jurisdictions, decreed the sale of the property of several convents, introduced normal schools, independent of the clergy, curtailed the privileges of the states, and almost annihilated them by the appointment of intendants. Knowing and fearing the restless spirit of the people, he resolved upon the unwisest measure that ever monarch conceived—the demolition of the barrier fortresses of the Netherlands, wrung from France, or erected at a prodigious expense. People asked what guarantee Joseph had for the perpetuity of his alliance with that country, and what other means he possessed for protecting the provinces from the invasion of a power which had ever been so desirous to recover them; and the people of Brabant and Flanders found themselves, to their extreme mortification, deprived of bulwarks which were at once their defence and monuments of their historic glory. The magistrates, the nobles, and the clergy, taking advantage of the war in which the emperor was engaged with Turkey, united their efforts to excite insurrection, and the partial disturbances which took place in 1788 assumed, towards the conclusion of the following year, the character of a revolution. The states drew up a plan for a federal union, and resolved to form a republic by the title of the Belgic Provinces.

The French revolution, not less than the employment of the Austrian military force in another quar-

ter, favoured these movements; but the leaders of the democratic party in France were ashamed of them when they learned the spirit in which they had originated. Meanwhile, the force hastily levied by the Brabanters made an obstinate resistance to the Austrian regular troops, and harassed them incessantly in all their positions. The archduchess regent of the Netherlands, sister of the emperor and the queen of France, and her consort, the duke of Saxe-Teschen, had dispersed the troops too much to bring them to bear immediately upon those points where the flames of insurrection raged most vehemently. They ordered them to fall back for the purpose of concentrating them. The Brabanters, excited by Van Eupen, a priest, and an advocate named Van der Noot, followed the Austrian troops, raised the villages against them, and in a short time gained possession of the principal cities, Mons, Namur, Ghent, and Brussels. This unexpected disaster filled Vienna with consternation, and is believed to have accelerated the death of the emperor, who had long been suffering under an incurable disease, of which he expired in February, 1790.

His brother and successor, Leopold, whose government of Tuscany had excited the admiration of all enlightened politicians, took the most energetic measures to restore the imperial authority. In this emergency, the insurgents turned their eyes to France: though the revolution there originated in directly contrary principles, which they detested, they solicited succour and sought its alliance. But the French revolutionists could not become the allies of nobles and monks, or arm in behalf of the privileged castes. They attempted, therefore, to introduce their own principles into the Netherlands, and to give a totally different colouring to the causes of the insurrection there. Van der Mersch,

the agent of a popular party, which was to act in the name of the sovereign people, strove to reduce to practice all the anarchical results of that system. The lower classes were almost as much alarmed as the monks and the nobles by this new phenomenon, fearing lest it might lead to the overthrow of religion; and the two parties came to blows. Van der Mersch, the democrat, was beaten by Van der Noot, the champion of the aristocrats. The latter again solicited the aid of France. On the motion of Lafayette, who could not forgive the Brabanters for having repelled and chastised those who brought to them the declaration of the rights of man, the National Assembly gave Van der Noot's envoys a flat refusal.

This last humiliation filled the insurgents with dismay. The forces which they had raised, weary of civil dissensions, dispersed. An Austrian army, under Marshal Bender, entered Belgium, and was astonished to meet with no resistance. A patrole of hussars took possession of Brussels. Every one was solicitous to obtain pardon from the sovereign. Leopold exempted from the general amnesty only a very small number of the most dangerous of the rebels, who were allowed facilities to escape; and in a fortnight, the imperial authority was every where restored.

In the northern division of the Netherlands, in the republic of the Seven United Provinces, scenes of a somewhat similar kind had recently occurred and terminated in nearly the same manner. In that republic there were two parties: the Orange party strove to uphold, and, upon occasion, to extend the power of the stadtholder, or supreme magistrate, whose authority had been made hereditary in 1747, through the influence of England. The merchants of the great cities, and especially Amsterdam, were the focus

of the other, and during the feeble administration of William V. had acquired a preponderance in the States-general, courted the friendship of France, and exerted their influence with such effect as to cause the republic to take part in the war in which France was engaged against Britain, in favour of the independence of North America. The calamitous results of that war to Holland increased the animosity against the stadtholder, whose sentiments were friendly to England, and against whose will it was undertaken. The disasters sustained were attributed to his contrivance, and to the defective measures purposely adopted; and he was particularly charged with a plan for favouring the military to the prejudice of the naval force, and thus making the republic subservient to his friends and protectors. Bold political writers and zealous preachers increased the ferment. Patriotic bands of burghers, or volunteer associations, in the different towns, flew to arms, and soon quarrelled with the aristocracy or town-senates, the old enemies of the stadtholder, by interfering in their functions. The stadtholder resolved to support the senates, though he knew them to be his rivals in political importance. The aristocracy of the state of Holland, which had always been most hostile to the Orange family, not satisfied with this favourable disposition of the prince, determined to overthrow his power at the risk of a popular revolution which must destroy their own.

Meanwhile, in September, 1786, the appearance in uniform of a party of twelve armed burghers of Leyden occasioned a riot at the Hague, the usual residence of the prince, where the populace were much attached to him. In resentment for the insult, they attacked and drove the strangers into a house, where part of the garrison took them into custody, and sent them home

privately at night. The states of Holland seized this pretext for taking from the stadtholder the command of the garrison of the Hague, and transferring it to the deputies of Haerlem, a town which had always been warmly opposed to his interest. On this affront, he quitted the Hague, retired to Nimwegen, and applied for the protection of Great Britain and Prussia, while the aristocratic party solicited aid from the court of Versailles.

To Prussia these proceedings could not be matter of indifference. The ancient family connexion with the house of Orange had been renewed by the marriage of the stadtholder to a Prussian princess, the sister of Frederick William II., who had just succeeded his uncle, Frederick the Great. The latter had himself thought fit to address several remonstrances to the States-general; but his antipathy to England, his age and infirmities, and perhaps, too, his decided opinion that the stadtholder, as an officer of the state, was bound to act in accordance with the constitution, and that he had only himself to blame for the unpleasant consequences resulting from its violation, prevented him from manifesting any warmer interest. So much the more deeply did his successor sympathize in the misfortunes of his brother-in-law. The close connexion of the patriots with France forbade, however, any rash resolution, till the news of the increasing pecuniary embarrassments and helplessness of the French cabinet removed all apprehension of danger from that quarter, and a circumstance, perhaps purposely contrived, wounded the family pride of the king. His sister, the consort of the stadtholder, on her way from Nimwegen to the Hague, was seized by the patriots, and ignominiously conducted back as a prisoner by the armed burghers. The king could not suffer such an insult offered to his house to

go unpunished, and an army of twenty-four thousand men, under the Duke of Brunswick, assembled in Westphalia. France threatened to form a camp at Givet, on the Meuse, for the protection of the republic; but as she did no more than threaten, the Prussians, in September, 1787, entered the Dutch territory by Nimwegen and Arnheim. They met with scarcely any resistance. The party-leaders proved themselves to be equally destitute of courage and ability; the troops dispersed; an attempt to open the sluices failed from want of water; the fortresses surrendered almost without opposition, and, in four weeks, the whole country, including the capital, was in the hands of the invaders. The conquest of the Netherlands, for which Philip II. and Louis XIV. had in vain taxed the energies of their mighty empires, was accomplished by the moderate force sent by Frederick William in a single month.

The reinstatement of the stadtholder in all his former rights and dignities was the sole result of this boldly undertaken and most successfully executed expedition. The focus of the disturbances was not destroyed by any essential change of constitution. Several of the party-leaders who had not fled were banished. In April, 1788, a treaty was concluded between Prussia and the republic, by which both states mutually engaged to treat each other upon the footing of the most favoured nations.

Such was the only advantage reaped by Prussia from her interference. On the other hand, the equivocal military renown which the army carried home with it from this bloodless campaign, was destined to prove most injurious; for it produced the notion, so severely punished in the sequel, of the absolute incapability of nations to make head against a regular military force, and of the irresistibility of the Prussian arms in parti-

cular. For the French court, also, the faint-hearted desertion of its natural allies had a most pernicious effect, since it contributed much to deprive it of the respect of its own nation, more susceptible than any other to political vanity.

Frederick the Great, at his decease in 1786, left his successor a well-filled treasury, and an army then deemed invincible. His dominions, neither so extensive nor so compact as those of Austria, were defended by no natural boundary, and had only a few fortified towns to protect them from the incursions of powerful military neighbours. With a population of eight millions, Prussia possessed an army of 170,000 men, in the highest state of discipline and equipment. The form of government was despotic, and indeed no other could, with such moderate resources, have made the country one of the greatest military powers in Europe.

We have just seen with what success part of the forces of Prussia was employed in the expedition to Holland. All the advantages which she failed to secure from that expedition were reaped by England. It was highly desirable to that power to keep the United Provinces dependent on herself; and the British ambassador in Berlin exerted to the utmost his predominant influence with Herzberg, the Prussian minister, to lead the policy of that court into such measures as would promote the views of the British cabinet. His efforts were successful. The Prussian treaty with Holland was followed (June 13, 1788) by a similar treaty with England, in which the contracting parties mutually engaged to assist each other with a force of 16,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry in case of any hostile attack either by land or sea. These arrangements might appear inefficient, but England thereby attained, and without incurring any danger herself, the object which

she had in view; namely, to threaten and even to attack Russia, with which she was at variance on account of restrictions upon her commerce, by means of Prussia. Frederick William acquiesced the more readily in this plan, because the intimate connexion between Russia and Austria excited his apprehension, and he had, besides, a motive for personal antipathy to the Russian empress. Ever since the visit which he had paid when crown-prince to Petersburg, he had reason to believe that he was disliked by Catherine, and in this notion he was confirmed, when she declined to renew the treaty which had subsisted between her and his predecessor. This disposition of the two powers towards Russia promoted that friendship, the first effect of which was manifested in the Prussian expedition to Holland. From the secret operation of their union likewise resulted, in all probability, the declaration of war issued by the Porte against Russia, in August, 1787, as well as the attack made on the latter power, in 1788, by Gustavus III. of Sweden. With the same view they countenanced the insurrection in Brabant, in order to prevent or cramp the participation of Austria in the war with Turkey, and encouraged the ferment in Poland, where a numerous party conceived the idea of shaking off the Russian yoke, and recovering the lost independence of their country. Through the influence of Prussia, the proposal of the empress to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with her against the Turks was rejected with unwonted firmness, and such energetic remonstrances were made against the assemblage of Russian troops in the Polish territory, that Catherine deemed it expedient to give way to them. But when, in spite of this active and enlarged policy, the war was extended by the accession of Austria, and, in consequence of the repeated defeats of the Turks and the

disasters of Sweden, took such a turn as Prussia and England had not expected, at least, in degree, they found it necessary to bestir themselves in favour of the Porte, if they would prevent its utter overthrow and the expulsion of the Turks from Europe.

Never was that barbarous throne so near the brink of perdition; but that consummation, for which past ages had preferred ardent prayers to Heaven, was regarded by Pitt and Herzberg as an incalculable evil. It was not merely those statesmen who espoused the cause of the Turks; many other voices in Christendom were raised in their behalf. The mild disposition of sultans Mustapha and Abdul Hamid was a theme of praise with various writers, and the attainments of Selim III., who succeeded the latter in 1789, seemed indeed likely to accelerate the period of the approach of the Turks to European civilization and manners. The accounts of Potemkin's conduct and the proceedings of the Russians in the Crimea were at any rate not calculated to throw their adversaries into the shade. Hence no one thought of protesting in the name of religion and humanity against a system of policy, which laid it down as a fundamental principle that a rude and ignorant nation must be secured in the possession of the finest portion of Europe. If England was induced to adopt this line of policy by the material interests of her commerce, Prussia was led into it by a political theory.

In this age of illumination, as it was called, politicians still clung to the doctrine of the balance of power with as much tenacity as other antiquated opinions were yet adhered to. Europe was represented as a great balance with several scales, in which the states, divided into groups or systems, were to be kept in equilibrium by the prevention of any undue acquisition or diminu-

tion of power. For the northern system of states, at the head of which were Prussia and England, counterpoised by Austria allied with Russia and France, it appeared to be at that time an essential point to oppose a scale of heavy weight to that containing those three mighty empires. Such a one they considered the Ottoman Porte, and hence the importance which they attached to its conservation.

The experience of a single century might have demonstrated that this theory, though not absolutely false, was not applicable to every case; that the balance of power depended on change of circumstances and humours; and that it was by no means advisable to risk much for so speculative a notion. Herzberg, however, grown gray in his political opinions, judged otherwise. The existence of Prussia depended, he conceived, on the preservation of the balance of power; and as this balance was in its turn dependent on the preservation of the Turks, Prussia must, in case of need, even draw the sword for that object. That there was no natural alliance between the two nations, either through proximity or important commercial relations, was not a consideration with him: he merely calculated the value of Turkey to Prussia as a counterpoise to Russia and Austria, without considering that there was a wide gulf between the presupposition of this counterpoise and its realisation, and that, upon the whole, it was yet very doubtful whether the expulsion of the Turks might not be attended with more advantage than danger to western Europe, by drawing off the attention of the conquerors to another quarter. Neither did it occur to him that the English minister was not absolute master of his resolutions, but dependent on the decision of parliament, and could not fulfil the engagements of the treaty on which Prussia implicitly relied, if the voice of the nation

should declare against war. Under these circumstances, Herzberg's plans must be pronounced shallow, and his conduct imprudent, and even rash. On the 31st of January, 1790, Prussia concluded a treaty with the Porte, by which she engaged, in the spring of the same year, to declare war against Russia and Austria, and not to make peace till the Grand Signor should be put in possession of all the territories and fortresses which he had lost, including even the Crimea, though that had been taken from him in a former war, and obtained entire security as well at sea as on land. Thus Prussia undertook for the Turks the most arduous task that one nation can undertake for another — war, and war with Austria and Russia. The Porte, on its part, granted to Prussian merchant-vessels in the Mediterranean the same advantages as were enjoyed by the most favoured nations, and likewise protection against the pirate states of Africa: it engaged, moreover, on the conclusion of peace, to procure for the republic of Poland the cession of Galicia, and, indeed, of all the provinces which, in the partition of 1772, had been allotted to Austria. Thus a power which had enough to do with its own losses engaged to procure restitution of the losses of others!

The policy of Prussia, however, was not so disinterested as it appeared to be from this solicitude for the welfare of Poland. Herzberg hoped, in return for Galicia, to obtain for Prussia the two commercial cities of Thorn and Danzig, and the district of Poland situated between the New Mark and the river Obra. At the same time, it was not his intention that the king should be held to the complete fulfilment of his generous engagements. If it were not possible to induce Austria to restore the whole of Galicia, Poland, according to his plan, was to be content with a part, and, in case restitution of all that the Turks had lost could not be

obtained, Austria was to retain Belgrade and Wallachia, on the footing of the peace of Passarowitz, in 1718, as an indemnity for her cessions to Poland.

The emperor Joseph, as soon as he was apprized of the negociations of Prussia with the Porte and her military preparations in Silesia, assembled an army in Bohemia and Moravia. At his death in February, 1790, Leopold, his successor, found the Austrian empire in so critical a situation, that it seemed highly desirable to prevent a war with Prussia. He addressed, therefore, immediately after his accession, a very friendly letter to the king, in which, referring to the moderation which he had shown in all the circumstances of his life, he expressed his desire for an amicable adjustment of all existing differences. Frederick-William replied in the like spirit, and directed Herzberg's plan to be communicated to the Austrian ambassador; but the counter-remarks which it called forth expressed surprise that Austria should be expected to exchange the best portion of Galicia for uncultivated Turkish frontier provinces, and that Prussia should hope to gain without having taken any part in the war.

The Prussian military preparations now began to assume a serious aspect. The king himself, accompanied by the duke of Brunswick and other generals, repaired to Silesia, and took up his head-quarters at Schönwald, on the frontiers of Bohemia. Towards Russia two armies were collected, the one on the frontiers of Lithuania, the other on the Vistula, near Thorn, which afterwards marched through Poland to Upper Silesia. Leopold, who had not expected such serious demonstrations, gave fresh instructions to his envoys, prince Reuss and baron Spielmann, in consequence of which both proceeded, on the 27th of June, to Reichenbach, to negotiate with Herzberg. There appeared at

first the fairest prospect that Herzberg's plan of accommodation would be realized; but things all at once took a different turn. The ambassadors of England and Holland, who had also repaired to Reichenbach, declared that those powers demanded the unconditional *status quo* for the Porte, and, if the king persisted in his plan of indemnities, they would not take any part in the war which might ensue, neither would they consider it as a war to which their alliance was applicable. Such was the fruit of the vaunted alliance with Holland and England—Prussia was not to gain Thorn and Danzig, and Turkey was not to lose an inch of territory!

Ten days afterwards, the marquis de Lucchesini, Prussian chargé d'affaires at Warsaw, arrived at the head-quarters and expressed doubts of the willingness of Poland to cede the two cities in exchange for a partial indemnity. Others doubted whether the Porte would be satisfied with the partial restitution of its losses, after Prussia had solemnly pledged herself to their complete restitution. Others again insisted on the possibility that Austria might, without any further mediation, adjust her differences with the Porte, and then fall upon Prussia with her whole force united to that of Russia. They represented to the king the danger, and at the same time the little honour, that must attend a war without allies, and waged not on account of the balance of power of Europe, but an insignificant extension of the Prussian territory. These views decided the resolution of the king. In spite of Herzberg's remonstrances, he commanded him, in the most positive manner, and even with expressions of displeasure, to relinquish the plan of compensations, and to make the *status quo* the sole basis of peace. Frederick William, for his own part, believed that war must result from this demand, and he directed his minister

to prepare the manifesto; but Herzberg well knew that this turn would be more agreeable to Austria than the previous state of things. The representatives of that power, in fact, lost no time in acceding to the proposals of Prussia, and, on the 27th of July, 1790, a convention was concluded, in the form of an Austrian declaration and a Prussian counter-declaration, purporting that Austria would immediately conclude an armistice with the Turks, for the purpose of negociating a peace on the basis of the strict *statùs quo*. In case the arrangement of the frontiers should be productive of any advantage voluntarily conceded by the Porte to Austria, Prussia was to obtain an indemnity for it. Austria engaged to take no farther part in the war between Russia and the Porte; Prussia, on the other hand, promised not to hinder the return of Belgium under the sway of Austria; but, at the same time, stipulated for and guaranteed a general amnesty for the insurgents in those provinces, and the re-establishment of their constitution, which Joseph had infringed.

Immediately after the ratification of this convention by the respective courts, the armies were disbanded, and Frederick William returned home, amidst the joyous acclamations of his subjects, relieved from the apprehensions of war. The preservation of the Turks, connected with the idea of the European balance of power, had been gained with the sacrifice of millions, together with the appearance of having prescribed law to Austria. But this appearance lost much of its brilliancy when Leopold, in the course of the same year (on the 30th of September), was elected emperor, and by judicious measures put an end to the discontents and disturbances prevailing in the interior of his monarchy. Peace between Austria and the Porte was negociated at Szistova, in the presence of a Prussian envoy, and con-

cluded on the 4th of August, 1791; but, by the desire of the Austrian minister, the convention of Reichenbach was not even mentioned in the treaty; neither was the stipulation that Prussia should be indemnified if Austria obtained advantages ever fulfilled, though the Turks were obliged to cede Old Orsova, with its environs and some other districts.

Meanwhile, owing to the progress of the Russian arms against the Turks, and the peremptory refusal of Catherine to be forced into a peace, the hostile attitude of Prussia towards Russia continued and became more threatening, just as the king of Sweden, who had so long waited in vain for active assistance from the fellow-potentates of his scale, made his peace with the empress on the 14th of August, 1790. The Prussian army on the Russian frontiers was now reinforced to 80,000 men, and Tempelhof received orders to form a plan for the siege of Riga, which was to be undertaken in the spring, as soon as the troops should have advanced to the Dwina. England promised to send a fleet into the Baltic, and another into the Black Sea; but the minister found the opposition, who deprecated hostilities with Russia, too strong to admit of the fulfilment of this promise, and he was obliged to disarm the ships which were already equipped.

Prussia now perceived that, after the great sacrifices which she had made, she should be left to fight single-handed, and to risk her existence a second time to procure restitution to the Turks of a heap of rubbish—for Oczakow, the point in dispute, was little better. Both powers therefore descended from the high tone with which they had at first rejected the proffered mediation of Denmark, and were content when the empress, on the 11th of August, 1792, concluded peace for herself at Galatz, by which it was stipulated that

she should retain, besides the Crimea, of which no further mention was made, the fortress of Oczakow, with the district between the Dnieper and Dniester. The large sums which Prussia had expended in equipments against Russia were thus thrown away, without purchasing for her even that equivocal glory which she had gained in the preceding year at Reichenbach.

CHAPTER VI.

STATE OF EUROPE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (*continued*).

Strong in her defensive position, Sweden, from the poverty of her soil and the scantiness of her population scattered over an extensive space, possessed neither strength nor resources for vigorous offensive warfare. Her sovereign, Gustavus III., a man of enthusiastic and enterprising disposition, soon after his accession to the throne, took advantage of some disputes between the different orders composing the states, or parliament, to abolish the then existing constitution, and by means of the armed force to compel the acceptance of a form of government which rendered him nearly despotic. The nobles, however, had gradually recovered a portion of the influence which they had enjoyed previously to this revolution, and, encouraged by the intrigues of Russia, had greatly embarrassed the sovereign. Impatient to shake off his dependence on that power, Gustavus listened to the overtures of England and Prussia to join their alliance against Catherine, and resolved, while she was occupied with the war which she had commenced against the Turks, to attack her north-western frontier. Desirous, however, first to ascertain

the sentiments and to conciliate the good-will of the court of Denmark, he repaired without ceremony to Copenhagen, and endeavoured to prevail on the prince-regent, who governed the kingdom on account of the incapacity of his father, to enter into his views in regard to Russia, but without effect.

In July, 1788, Gustavus landed with an army in Finland, and commenced offensive operations, in which he was generally successful. After taking several places of inferior consequence, he laid siege to Fredericsham. The approach of an enemy so near to the Russian capital excited such alarm that the younger branches of the imperial family were removed to Moscow, while the empress herself boldly resolved to face the danger. Admiral Greig sailed with a strong Russian fleet to protect Petersburg by sea, and soon fell in with that of Sweden, under the command of the king's brother, the duke of Sudermania, consisting of fifteen ships of the line, in the gulf of Finland. An engagement ensued, which was maintained with the most determined intrepidity on both sides, till night put an end to it. Both claimed the victory, though the loss was nearly equal, each having taken a flag-ship belonging to the other. The Swedish fleet retired to the harbour of Sweaborg, where admiral Greig, having received reinforcements, came upon it unawares, and in a second action took and burned a vessel of 60 guns, before the ships could get under the protection of the forts. Here they lay shut up by the Russians till the conclusion of the campaign.

Gustavus was soon doomed to experience a still more severe disappointment. A general disaffection prevailed among the officers of his army, partly fostered by the intrigues of Russia, which appeared at this time to aim at nothing less than his dethronement, and partly

owing to scruples of conscience, many of them openly declaring that they could not serve without violating their oaths in a war undertaken without the consent of the states of the kingdom, and, of course, contrary to the constitution. Influenced by this spirit, they refused, during the siege of Fredericksham, to lead the troops to the attack; and when the king appealed to the latter they laid down their arms. At this critical moment, he received intelligence that a Danish force was collecting on the frontier of Norway, which had been stripped of troops and left nearly defenceless, and threatening Gottenburg, the emporium of the commerce of Sweden. During his absence, moreover, the senate at Stockholm had assumed extraordinary powers, and summoned a meeting of the states of the kingdom. Under these pressing circumstances, leaving the care of his army in Finland to his second brother, the duke of Ostrogothia, Gustavus suddenly made his appearance at Stockholm (September 1), and put an end to the proceedings of the senate. He instantly sent off all the regular troops from the capital, where, at his call, the citizens armed and embodied themselves for its defence. He then hastened to the province of Dalecarlia, the loyalty of whose ignorant but honest-hearted population was inflamed to enthusiasm by his visit, and four thousand of them instantly came forward as volunteers. Meanwhile, the Danish army, commanded by prince Charles of Hesse, had entered Sweden, and was approaching Gottenburg, the inhabitants of which, incapable of defence, agreed to surrender. The king, contriving to pass unnoticed through the enemy's parties, entered the city (October 30), and, though he had no adequate force for resisting the invaders, persuaded the people of the town to risk every danger rather than submit. At this period there was no ambassador in

Sweden from the courts of London, Berlin, or Versailles; but Mr. Elliot, the British envoy at Copenhagen, when apprized of hostilities, passed over to Sweden, offered his mediation to the king, and threatened Denmark with an immediate invasion by a Prussian army, supported by a British and Dutch fleet, with such authority as to intimidate the Danish commander, who delayed further operations. A Prussian envoy arrived, and countenanced these menaces; after some negociation, an armistice for six months was concluded, and in November the Danish force evacuated the Swedish territory.

The king, on his return from Gottenburg, summoned a diet to meet in Stockholm early in 1789. In the mean time, he assembled the magistrates and fifty of the most respectable citizens, to whom he explained his views in regard to the prosecution of the war, in which they promised him their warmest support. The states met on the 26th of January. The nobles soon manifested a disposition to keep no terms with the king. They complained of his having brought the Dalecarlians, who had joined him with so much zeal, to garrison Stockholm, alleging that it was his object to overawe their deliberations. They found fault with the appointment of Count Löwenhaupt, a particular friend of the king's, as marshal of the diet, and so grossly insulted him that he absented himself entirely from their meetings. The king, finding that he possessed the attachment of the other three orders, went to the diet to demand reparation for the insult offered to himself through the marshal. A violent altercation ensued. Gustavus put an end to it by rising from his seat, and declaring to the nobles that there were among them men who, in their hearts, would rather see Russia dictating laws to their country than sacrifice their own

ambitious views to its welfare. The nobles immediately quitted the assembly in a body. Supported by the other three states, the king, on the 20th of February, sent a party of troops to secure twenty-five of the most distinguished of the nobility in their own houses, and to convey them to the castle of Fredericshoff. Soon afterwards, the principal of the refractory officers of the army in Finland arrived in Stockholm as prisoners, to be tried for disobedience, mutiny, and treason. In spite of the numerous resignations in every department of the state, military and civil, which took place in consequence of these arrests, the king steadily pursued the system of political conduct which he had laid down for himself.

He totally abolished the senate, which had manifested constant hostility to his interests and designs, and instituted a new body in its stead, invested with considerable powers, but subject to the immediate control of the sovereign. Having thus broken down all opposition to his will, he released the twenty-five nobles confined at Fredericshoff, and, seconded by the burghers and peasants, directed all his thoughts to the prosecution of the war by sea and land with the utmost vigour.

Having, through the mediation of the British minister at Copenhagen, secured the neutrality of Denmark, he returned to the army in Finland early in June, and on the 28th of that month a desperate encounter took place at Dainstadt, where the Russians, though superior in number, were routed, and their camp taken. The duke of Sudermania sailed with the Swedish fleet from Carlscrona, in the beginning of July, with the intention of preventing a junction between the naval force at Reval and the Russian squadron, which had been for some time lying at Copenhagen: but, in spite of his efforts, that junction was effected, and decided

the naval superiority of the Russians throughout the whole campaign.

On land, hostilities continued with various success. The king, who served as a volunteer in his own army, having advanced beyond the river Kymene, found it necessary to make a rapid retreat from Russian Finland, lest he should be surrounded: but, again penetrating into the Russian territories, he made himself master of Hogfors, a fortified seaport, and was soon afterwards joined by his fleet of galleys, which acted separately, or in conjunction with the army, as occasion required. The Russians had a strong flotilla of the same kind, under the prince of Nassau, who had quitted the Black Sea, where he had distinguished himself by his constant success in this peculiar kind of service, to measure his strength with the Swedes. A sanguinary encounter took place; several vessels on both sides were sunk, blown up, or driven upon the rocks, but few, if any, taken by either. The superiority of the Russian naval force, however, obliged the king once more to abandon the Russian territories: nothing further was attempted during that campaign, and Gustavus returned to his capital.

Conceiving that he could not take a more effective method for humbling the factious and turbulent nobles, by whom he knew he was generally detested, than by securing the affection of the commons, the king soon issued a declaration, that it was contrary to reason and justice that any order should monopolize the right of filling the high offices of state, and that all the orders had an equal right to serve their country in all situations for which they should be found duly qualified. Upon this principle, he appointed an equal number of persons belonging to each order to the different departments of the administration. This was the first time

in the history of Sweden that such an honour had been conferred on persons not of noble birth. This bold innovation strengthened the attachment of the people at large to the king, and enabled him to carry on his preparations for prosecuting the war with a facility and effect which he could not himself have expected. Extraordinary taxes to a very large amount were granted; and some of the principal cities built, manned, and equipped gun-boats, which they presented to the king, and raised, clothed, and armed volunteer corps, to assist him in the war. By these means, and by the aid of a subsidy from Turkey, Gustavus was enabled to open the campaign in Finland very early.

In the month of April, 1790, the Swedes commenced their operations in that quarter. A body of their troops penetrated into Carelia, and took three strong and important posts, where they found a considerable booty in arms, ammunition, and military stores. This incursion, made so near to the Russian capital, excited equal alarm and indignation there. One of the posts, named Karnankoski, situated near the Lake of Saima, was considered as being of so much consequence that a corps, composed of ten thousand of the best troops in the vicinity of Petersburg, a strong detachment of the guards, and a powerful artillery, was despatched under General Igelstrom and the prince of Anhalt to dislodge the invaders, and to drive them out of the country.

The Swedish force amounted to no more than three thousand men. The Russians advanced in three close columns to attack their entrenchments, but were received with a firmness and intrepidity which baffled the fury of the attack. After one of the most desperate actions on record, which lasted for about two hours, the Russians were as totally defeated as an army could be, where the victors were not able to profit by a pur-

suit. They left about two thousand dead on the spot, among whom were the prince of Anhalt and several other officers of distinction.

About the time that this action was fought, the king in person crossed the Kymene, on the 28th of April, and entered Russian Finland. The Russians were encamped around the strong fort of Valkiala, where they were deeply entrenched, and well covered by every defence which art and nature could furnish. The king, nevertheless, resolved to attack them. After a very severe action, which lasted for several hours, the impetuosity of the Swedes proved triumphant: both the entrenchments and the fort were carried by storm, but not without considerable loss from the fire of the batteries. Besides the artillery and stores, a magazine of provisions was found in the place. After making himself master of Wilmanstrand and some other places, the king fixed his head-quarters at Biorko, where he was to be joined by his fleet of galleys, intending to take the command of it himself.

Neither the fleets nor the armies of Russia had been prepared for so early a commencement of the campaign. The two divisions of their grand fleet were still in their respective winter stations, the harbours of Cronstadt and Reval. The duke of Sudermania, who had sailed with the Swedish fleet from Carlscrona about the same time that the operations began upon land, was therefore master of the sea for the time, and apparently had it in his power to prevent the junction of the Russian squadrons. But a plan of a far more decisive nature was formed, comprehending nothing less than the destruction, not only of the fleet in the fortified harbour of Reval, but of that great naval arsenal itself. Notwithstanding the formidable obstacles which they had to encounter, the attack of the Swedes (May 13)

was so tremendous that they penetrated into the heart of the harbour, and maintained a most desperate contest for several hours amidst the fire of the enemy: but, from the sudden shifting of the wind, which rose to a storm towards evening, they were obliged to make a precipitate retreat out of the harbour, which could not be accomplished without considerable loss. One 60-gun ship, being dismasted, was taken by the enemy; another of the same force was wrecked, and, after the crew had been taken out, set on fire; a third grounded, but escaped with the loss of part of her guns.

The king, meanwhile, was not inactive. A large division of the Russian galley fleet was waiting for the junction of a still stronger division from Cronstadt, in the harbour of Fredericksham, under the protection of the forts. Gustavus, in the Amphion frigate, at the head of his fleet of galleys, attacked the place with irresistible fury, took 38 vessels, sunk 10 gun-boats, burned 40, together with 30 transports, laden with provisions, stormed the forts, destroyed the docks, and burned the timber and naval stores.

The Russians, having had time to recover from their surprise and to collect their forces, which were greatly superior to those of the invaders, soon recovered the strong posts taken in Carelia by the Swedes, who were obliged to repass the Kymene in great confusion, with the loss of the whole, or nearly the whole, of their artillery.

On the 3d of June, the fleet, under the duke of Sudermania, fell in with the Cronstadt squadron, commanded by vice-admiral Kruse. The Swedish ships had suffered so severely in the attack of Reval, that several of them were nearly unmanageable, and they could not bring the enemy to a close action. Night parted the combatants, who renewed the engagement in

the morning. During the heat of the conflict, the Reval squadron bore down upon the rear of the Swedes, who were thus placed between two fires. A sudden shift of the wind, seconded by judicious manœuvres, enabled the duke to extricate himself from this perilous situation, and to gain the same evening a secure station in the island of Biorko, where he was speedily joined by the king, with his flotilla of galleys, gun-boats, and frigates. The Russians posted themselves between that island and Petersburg, for the protection of the capital.

The king soon afterwards landed part of his troops on the coast of Carelia, for the purpose of attacking Wyborg, the ancient capital of the province, in the port of which a large division of the Russian galley-fleet was lying. The island of Biorko faces a narrow channel that passes into the gulf of Wyborg. Off this channel suddenly appeared the grand Russian fleet, under admiral Tchitchagoff, and the Cronstadt division of light galleys, commanded by the prince of Nassau. As the only outlet to the sea was through the channel just mentioned, the Swedish fleet had no means of escape but by forcing its way. Four of the most powerful of the Russian ships were stationed in the strait to obstruct its passage. The Swedish commander attempted to remove this obstacle by means of fire-ships, but these fell aboard a line-of-battle ship and a frigate belonging to his own fleet, which were both blown up. Four other ships of the line, in their attempt to pass the strait, struck upon the rocks, and were abandoned to the enemy; and such of them as cleared the passage were closely pursued, and lost two more of their number. This engagement, commenced on the 3d of July, continued during the whole night and through part of the following day, on the evening of which the duke of Sudermania had the fortune to reach Sweaborg with the shattered remains

of his fleet. In this disastrous affair, the Swedes lost seven or eight ships of the line and several large frigates: the loss of the Russians was inconsiderable, excepting in the four ships stationed in the strait, which were reduced to absolute wrecks.

The galley-fleet under the king was in most imminent danger, and the escape of any part of it was matter of astonishment. Sixty of his galleys, having on board 800 of his guards, were taken; 60 of the smaller vessels were also captured or destroyed; and 90 officers were killed, wounded, or missing. It was computed that in both engagements the loss of the Swedes exceeded 7000 men.

The king, undaunted by this calamitous result, which seemed to have annihilated his naval force, proceeded to Swenk Sound, and there found the Pomeranian division of his light fleet, which had not been involved in the general ruin, owing to the lateness of its arrival. Having hastily refitted the relics of his squadron in the best manner he could, and taken on board supplies of provisions and ammunition, he put to sea with the intention of intercepting the prince of Nassau, who, with the Cronstadt and Wyborg divisions of the Russians, was on his way to Fredericksham. On the 8th of July the enemy appeared in sight, and on the following morning the prince bore down upon the Swedish fleet, drawn up in order of battle.

The king himself, who was always in the heat of every engagement, was this day on board the Seraphim galley, and gave the signal for a general engagement. A furious conflict commenced, and was maintained till about four o'clock, when some of the larger of the Russian galleys quitted the line, others ran upon shoals, others foundered, and several were taken. At eleven at night, darkness put an end to the combat, which was renewed at three

in the morning. A Russian frigate and a number of small vessels were soon taken. The vanquished, having set fire to their stranded ships, fled on all sides, and the Swedes pursued with such success as to secure 45 of their vessels, with a considerable quantity of artillery and a multitude of trophies. The prisoners amounted to about 4,500, of whom 210 were officers, so that the total loss of the Russians must have been prodigious.

Splendid as this victory was, its effects were not capable of much improving the king's condition, unless in extricating him from immediate danger. Coupled, however, with the extraordinary gallantry which he had manifested in all the preceding engagements, and his unshaken perseverance and undaunted spirit under disasters, it tended to cure Catherine of that contempt with which she had affected to treat her adversary. She was sensible how formidable a foe he might prove, if supported by English fleets and Prussian armies, at a time when the bulk of her forces were engaged in the south against the Ottomans. Very soon after the late victory, a private communication was opened between the empress and Gustavus, a negociation ensued, and, without reference to the allies of either party, peace was concluded on the 14th of August by general Igelstrom and baron d'Armfeldt, the Russian and Swedish plenipotentiaries, who met in a large tent, erected for the purpose, on the banks of the Kymene, between the advanced posts of the two hostile camps, in the plain of Werela. This treaty placed matters exactly on the same footing as they had been before the war.

While this peace was hailed with public rejoicings both in Petersburg and Stockholm, it drew upon the king of Sweden the most vehement obloquy for his shameful desertion, as it was termed, of his allies. Gustavus recriminated with equal severity and justice

upon those allies, who had for three years beheld him struggling against an overwhelming superiority of force, and yet, during that long period of incessant and unequal conflict, had not sent a single ship or a single man to his succour. From the reproaches of the Ottomans, however, he could not so easily vindicate himself. Not only had the Porte advanced considerable subsidies to Sweden for the maintenance of the war, but the parties had solemnly engaged by treaty not to conclude peace but by mutual participation and consent—a compact which was, in fact, grossly violated by this accommodation with Catherine. At first, the intelligence of the peace appeared so incredible at Constantinople that it was not believed; but when it was confirmed beyond doubt, nothing could exceed the indignation and abhorrence which this act of treachery, as it was deemed to be, produced at court as well as in the public: indeed, so incensed were the populace that it was dangerous for a Swede to appear in the streets for a long time afterwards.

Catherine empress of Russia, an ambitious and enterprising sovereign, with territories embracing half the extent of Europe and Asia, a population of fifty million, an army of four hundred thousand men, besides the irregular bands of Cossacks, and a considerable navy, was at this time, as we have seen, engaged with Austria in a war against Turkey, undertaken for the favourite purpose of seating one of her grandsons on the throne of the ancient Byzantine empire, and planting the cross instead of the crescent on the dome of St. Sophia.

In this project she was to be assisted by the formidable power of Austria. At the opening of the year 1787 she left Petersburg, on a journey, or rather a triumphal procession, to the Crimea, to receive the homage of conquered nations, and to celebrate the victories of her arms

and the addition of new provinces to her already too extensive dominions. After an interview with the king of Poland, which took place near Koniefp, and attended by a considerable army, under the command of her favourite prince Potemkin, she continued her progress to Cherson, where the emperor Joseph was waiting to receive her. At the conferences between those two ambitious potentates was cemented that alliance which had no less an object than the annihilation of the Ottoman power in Europe. We have seen that Great Britain and Prussia united to prevent the execution of this purpose; and it was probably the representations of these powers and the promise of diversions to be made in the north by Sweden and Prussia that induced the Porte to anticipate the motions of its enemies.

On the return of the Russian and Austrian ministers to Constantinople from Cherson, whither they had gone to attend their respective sovereigns, they found the disposition of the Porte totally changed. The propositions which the former had submitted as the basis of a new treaty with Catherine were rejected with disdain, and he was required to accept a set of conditions of an entirely contrary nature, the principal of them stipulating the restoration of the Crimea, which the last khan, a vassal of the Porte's, had been induced to surrender to Russia. As the ambassador could not comply, he was sent, with his secretary and two other principal officers of the mission, to the castle of the Seven Towers, a proceeding equivalent to a public declaration of war: and orders were immediately issued by the Grand Signor for assembling an army in the neighbourhood of Oczakow. By this bold step the two imperial courts were taken unawares; for Russia had not completed her preparations, and Austria had not yet commenced her's. Hostilities began in the autumn, but the hordes of Tartars first brought into the

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field, under the conduct of a fanatic sheik, who gave himself out for a prophet, were unable to cope with the disciplined troops of Russia, commanded by Potemkin. Some enterprises undertaken by the Turks against the island of Taman and the Crimea were equally unsuccessful. In an attempt to recover the fortress of Kinburn, separated from Oczakow by the mouth of the river Dnieper, they were repulsed with the loss of four out of five thousand men.

It was not long before the Porte inquired in a peremptory manner of the Austrian ambassador what course his sovereign intended to pursue in regard to the war. The emperor replied that he was bound as the friend and ally of Russia to furnish her with 80,000 men in case of a war, and great preparations were immediately made throughout all his dominions. Four Austrian armies were assembled on the frontiers, and hostilities commenced before any declaration of war was issued. Abortive attempts were made to surprise Belgrade and Turkish Gradisca; and Dressnick and some other small places were taken.

On the 10th of February, 1788, war was declared in the usual form, and in April, the emperor repaired to the grand army on the Danube to direct its operations in person. Hostilities commenced with various success. At first the advantage was on the side of the Ottomans, and the emperor, whose avowed purpose was to gain possession of Belgrade, was repulsed with disgrace. The grand vizir, who commanded the Turkish forces, amounting to 200,000 men, assembled at Silistria, in Bulgaria, made a sudden incursion into the Bannat of Temeswar, and spread consternation to the very gates of Vienna. Thus the first campaign of an offensive war had produced an impression on the territory of the invader. The Russians were meanwhile more successful

An army of 150,000 men assembled on the banks of the Dniester, near the frontiers of Poland and Turkey, under the command of Potemkin, Romanzow, Repnin, Soltikof, and other distinguished generals. One of their corps, commanded by the last-mentioned of these officers, being joined by the Austrian force under the prince of Saxe-Coburg, laid siege to Choczim, which surrendered on the 29th of September, and on the 6th of December, the town and fortress of Oczakow, having been rendered nearly defenceless by the explosion of the great powder-magazine, were taken by Potemkin, with 4000 prisoners, and 310 pieces of cannon. The slain were computed at 9500.

The emperor, on his part, alarmed at the gloomy prospect of his affairs, drew from his retirement old marshal Loudon, an officer possessing the highest military reputation, and persuaded him to take the command of the Austrian army in Croatia. Under his direction the imperial arms were more prosperous. He soon reduced Dubicza and Novi, though defended with the most obstinate bravery, and invested Turkish Gradisca, but was obliged by the overflowing of the river Saave to raise the siege. At the close of the campaign, the emperor found his health so much impaired, that he was compelled to return to Vienna, whence he sent marshal Haddik, notwithstanding his advanced age, to take the chief command of his army.

Early in the following year (April 7) the Ottoman empire sustained a severe loss in the almost sudden death of the Grand Signor Abdul Hamid, a sovereign who formed a bright exception to the princes of his line, by his unusual accomplishments, and the mildness and humanity of his disposition. His nephew and successor, Selim III., put to death the grand vizir who had so ably conducted the war, for the sake of his wealth, and by his

cruelty and rapacity excited a general spirit of discontent, which soon produced consequences the most fatal to his interest.

In 1789, as soon as the season would permit, Loudon renewed his attempt upon Gradisca, commencing with a violent bombardment, and the garrison evacuated the fortress, which from its position might be considered as the principal outwork of Belgrade. Having obtained possession of so important a point, the Austrian commander immediately prepared to besiege the latter. In Wallachia, the prince of Coburg attacked a camp formed by a Turkish seraskier, with 30,000 men, near Focksan, stormed it, and made himself master of the town, with considerable magazines formed there. The seraskier himself, with many of his principal officers, his artillery and camp equipage, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The same general having formed a junction with count Suwarrow, they had the hardihood, with a force not exceeding 30,000 men, to attack, on the 22d of September, the principal Turkish army under the grand vizir, estimated at 100,000; and with such success as to gain with little difficulty a most complete victory. The whole camp, situated near the river Rymnik, including the grand vizir's tents and equipage, cannon, colours, and stores, were among the fruits of this victory. Above 5000 Turks were killed on the spot, and 2000 in the pursuit. For this achievement Suwarrow received the name of Rymnikski, and the prince of Coburg was promoted to the rank of field-marshal. Before the end of the campaign, the greatest part of Wallachia, including Bucharest, its capital, and the strong fortress of Czernitz, were in the hands of the Austrians, who were equally successful in Servia. Having reduced Cladova, they overran that province to the walls of Orsova, but were

obliged to raise the siege of the latter place by the valour of the garrison and the severity of the winter.

The career of the Russians during the same year was marked by a series of successes. On the 20th of April they stormed a strongly fortified Turkish camp, near Galatz, on the river Pruth, taking the commander, the seraskier Ibrahim Pacha, and a great number of his officers. Bender was threatened. With a view to save that place, and to check the progress of the enemy, Hassan Pacha, quitting the command of the fleet in the Black Sea, assumed that of the Turkish army in Bessarabia. At Tobak, not far from Bender, he was met by the Russians under Potemkin and Repnin, and, after a hard-fought battle, obstinately maintained for several hours, he was totally defeated, with the loss of several thousand men and the greater part of his artillery. This conflict decided the fate of Bender, which was immediately invested, and surrendered about the middle of November. Before the end of the year, Ackierman, situated at the mouth of the Dniester, and Kylia Nova, a fortress at the mouth of the northern branch of the Danube, were also in the hands of the Russians.

On the death of the emperor Joseph, in the beginning of 1790, his successor, Leopold, manifested a desire for peace; and, after the reduction of Orsova on the 16th of April, the war was prosecuted with languor, till the conferences opened, as we have seen, at Reichenbach terminated in a peace between Austria and Turkey, on the basis of a general surrender of all the conquests made by the former, with some very trifling exceptions.

Russia now continued the war alone. Several naval encounters took place in the Black Sea, in one of which admiral Ushakoff burned the two largest vessels of the Turkish fleet, took three, and sunk one: but the most important event of the year 1790 was the siege of the

strong fortress of Ismail, in Wallachia, which was considered as the key of the Lower Danube, and which the Turks defended with the most heroic valour. In the open field, it is well known, these troops are not very formidable, but when supported by walls they are not surpassed by the soldiers of any nation. The ardour of the Russians was inflamed by foreigners, who came to take part in their operations: among these were Roger de Damas, Langeron, and Fronsac, afterwards duke de Richelieu, who sought by war to divert their minds from the deplorable state of their own country. Suwarrow commanded the besiegers. This Russian general, a man of most eccentric character, as fanatical as ever Cromwell was or appeared to be, pretended to be enlightened by celestial visions, and spoke in confused, obscure, and emphatic language. Rigorous even to cruelty, but honest and sincere, he exerted all the impetuosity of his character in obeying the commands of his sovereign, which to him were as sacred as those of Heaven itself; and the like deference and obedience were paid to his own orders by his troops.

This spirit was particularly displayed by both when, on the 25th of December, the Russian general, with his whole force, including even the cavalry, dismounted for the purpose, divided into eight columns, advanced to the assault of the fortress. After a desperate conflict, the assailants were at first repulsed with great slaughter. Suwarrow, to revive their courage, snatched a standard, and running up to a Turkish battery, planted it on the top, at the same time calling out to his troops and asking them if they would disgrace their country by suffering its standard to fall into the hands of the infidels. The assault was renewed, and lasted for seven hours without intermission, before the Russians could make themselves masters of the place. The slaughter of the

Turks, who to the last defended the fortress with the obstinacy of despair, was horrible: it is said that 24,000 of them perished. The carnage continued during the night, so that the total number of victims, including inhabitants of the town, of all ages and both sexes, exceeded 30,000. The French officers were indignant at this barbarity. It is related that Suwarrow, offended at their murmurs, said to them, "I wish I could treat the rebels in your country as I do the enemies of my sovereign:" to which Fronsac replied: "Never would the French be subdued by such means." The laconic despatch of the Russian general to the empress, acquainting her with his success, was in rhyme, to this effect: "Praise be to God, glory to Catherine; Ismail is at your feet; Suwarrow is in it."

After the reduction of Ismail, one of the last events of any consequence was an engagement which took place on the 3rd of July, 1791, at Anapa, in Circassia, between general Godowitch and a united force of Turks and Circassians. After an obstinate defence, attended with great slaughter, he stormed their camp and the town, taking all their artillery and a great number of prisoners. A few days afterwards, the Russian army in Bulgaria, under prince Repnin, attacked the main Turkish army, commanded by the grand-vizir, Yusuf Pacha; and, after a partial engagement, the Ottoman cavalry were thrown into disorder and routed before the infantry could come up to their support. This misfortune occasioned such a panic as ended in a general flight, which, from the nature of the country, was not attended with any considerable loss. This was the last action of a savage war, which for carnage and cruelty exceeded any other of modern times, being speedily followed by a peace concluded by the last named hostile leaders at Galatz, on the 11th of August. The terms of this treaty were nearly the

same as those offered by Potemkin before the opening of the campaign of 1790. Russia retained Ozakow and the country situate between the Dniester and the Dnieper, with the free navigation of the latter river; but she restored all other conquests made by her during the war.

Let us now turn to the southern states of Europe.

Spain, instead of filling Europe with apprehensions of her power, as in the sixteenth century, had sunk in the eighteenth, under the government of weak sovereigns and the influence of priests and of the Inquisition, into a state of languor and apathy, from which she was somewhat roused by the efforts of Charles III. to restore her faded glory. His efforts, however, were attended with little success. An attempt made upon Algiers covered the arms of Spain with disgrace, and she derived neither honour nor advantage from the war which she waged with England, as the ally of France. Two of Charles's ministers, however, Aranda and Florida Blanca, though frequently rivals, contrived by prudent and skilful management to impart new motion to a machine, the springs of which were nearly worn out. The Spanish colonies in the New World, now better administered, supplied the mother country with their productions in greater abundance than formerly; and a new impulse was thereby given to commerce and even to agriculture in Spain. In January, 1789, Charles IV. succeeded his father on the throne. This prince, with a very weak character and inferior understanding, was governed entirely by his queen, as she was by her passions and her favourite Godoy, since better known by the appellation of prince of the Peace; so that his reign had hitherto been marked only by intrigues which rendered both himself and his country contemptible in the eyes of the world.

The internal state of Portugal differed but little from that of her more powerful neighbour. The mental de-

rangement of the queen placed the executive government in the hands of her son, the prince of Brasil; and the alliance of England, to whom the government looked for protection in every emergency, gave to that power the complete direction of its councils.

Italy, at the period when this history commences, presented a most deplorable spectacle to the observer. A general contempt of all moral restraints, an almost regularly organised system of peculation, a profusion in almsgiving which encouraged the indolence of the people, the most atrocious indulgence of revenge, sanctioned at least by the force of opinion and exempted from all fear of punishment or disgrace, the revolting impunity of daily assassination, the sanctuaries granted by an inhuman pity to criminals—such was the melancholy picture which the classic land exhibited to the eye of the stranger.

There were, however, some bright points on which it could rest with satisfaction. Malpighi, Spallanzani, Fontana, and Volta, had awakened the genius of Science in Italy; and a spirit of observation began to be diffused among a people which for a century had been sunk in sloth, and shown no fondness but for the fine arts or for the amusements of a corrupt society. The marquis Beccaria had raised himself as a writer nearly to a level with Montesquieu; he was the author of a meritorious work on Crimes and Punishments, which, nevertheless, contained many obscure apophthegms and startling paradoxes. Three clever and ingenious Neapolitans, Caraccioli and the abbé Galiani, both disciples of the French school of philosophy, and Filangieri, author of a highly esteemed work on Legislation, occupied themselves with the most important questions concerning the public administration. Alfieri, the celebrated tragic poet, appeared desirous only to excite in his countrymen a

spirit of freedom and national independence; while the abbé Casti, in his satires, manifested the most furious hostility to kings and monarchical principles.

Ferdinand VI., the sovereign of Naples and Sicily, the most extensive of the states into which the peninsula is divided, was like his kinsman, Charles VI. of Spain, a prince of a mild disposition and mean abilities, who left all the cares of government to his queen and her favourite Acton, the minister. The character of this princess, daughter of the empress Maria Theresa, and sister of the queen of France, was haughty, irritable, and unbending; and it had no small influence over the subsequent destinies of the country.

Pius VI., a mild and moderate pontiff, had long filled the papal throne, and signalized his reign by various beneficial undertakings, for instance the draining of the Pontine marshes, one of the most difficult victories that human industry and perseverance ever gained over Nature.

Tuscany, under the wise administration of the philanthropic Leopold, had become a flourishing state. The complete change which he had effected in the character of a once restless, inflammable, and revengeful people, was in truth a rare historical phenomenon. By an administration modelled after Turgot's plans, by judicious regulations, and by a strict police, he had transformed the Florentines, Pisans, and Sienese, into a quiet, contented, and industrious population.

The king of Sardinia, possessing, besides the island from which he derived his title, the continental provinces, Savoy and Piedmont, was the only Italian potentate who could claim any sort of military importance. With a force of fifty thousand men, including fifteen thousand militia, and a country defended not only by the natural barrier of the Alps, but also by many strong fortresses,

and holding moreover the keys of the principal passes between the south and the north of Europe, this state acquired from its position a weight and influence in European politics, which it could not have derived from its limited extent and resources.

The duchies of Parma and Piacenza had for their sovereign a Bourbon, who, though a pupil of Condillac's, beheld with alarm the progress which the new philosophy was every where making. Whatever might be his foresight, his character was as feeble as his political power.

The republic of Venice held together with difficulty the fragments of her former power. Her secret policy consisted in keeping a vigilant eye upon foreigners, and in corrupting the patrician families as well as the people. Among all the states of Europe, Venice was that which had made the least progress and introduced the fewest improvements. The magnificent city had no feeling in common with her subjects on the main land. Her government, however, possessed fortitude enough to resist all the endeavours of the two imperial courts of Austria and Russia to draw the republic into their league against Turkey. The most tempting baits, Candia and the Morea, were held out to her: but, aware of the ambitious designs of Joseph II. on the side of Italy and Dalmatia, Venice was proof against all offers, and adhered to her determination of observing a strict neutrality.

CHAPTER VII.

CONVOCATION OF THE STATES-GENERAL (NATIONAL ASSEMBLY) OF FRANCE.

The spring of 1789 was a period of great political anxiety in France. The higher orders wished to reduce the power of the crown, but were jealous of their own

privileges and determined to maintain them; while the popular philosophers and others strove to render them odious and to rouse the nation to a love of freedom. Still the great body of the people, not one in fifty of whom could read, remained careless spectators of the struggle. Though, in the circular convoking the States-general, the king had invited the whole of the citizens to concur in the choice of the delegates by whom the representatives were to be elected, and upwards of two millions of Frenchmen were thus admitted to that privilege, yet, such was their indifference, that few of the electors took the trouble to attend and vote. In many places, where a thousand voters were expected, not fifty came forward.

Necker had adopted two principles, the fallacy of which subsequent experience has fully demonstrated: that public opinion is always in unison with wisdom and morality; and that he could always sway that opinion at pleasure. Acting on these principles, he neglected to secure to the government the necessary influence over the elections, and abandoned them to the adversaries of the court and the enemies of the throne, who, though differing in their ultimate objects, yet at first co-operated in dangerous harmony. Thus in Provence, the count de Mirabeau contrived to control the elections. Mirabeau was a man as remarkable for superior qualities of mind as for dangerous principles and dissolute manners, who, having quarrelled with the nobility, joined the commoners, and was himself elected a deputy of the *tiers état*, after selling cloth by the yard, in order to demonstrate his renunciation of the privileges of his birth. In Paris, the duke of Orleans, who was already accounted one of the heads of the popular party, took into his pay the populace of the faubourgs. Controlling, in consequence of his extensive possessions, the nomination of electors in various quarters, he had instructions for the candidates written by

the abbé Sieyes, printed, and distributed, according to which the king, instead of the sovereign, was to be made the subject of the people, and the relations hitherto subsisting between the different classes were to be totally changed in favour to the *tiers état*. The instructions of the electors of the deputies of the *tiers état* were mostly drawn up after this model; but even in those of the nobility and clergy, who wished to maintain the privileges of their orders, a spirit of opposition to the throne was clearly expressed. In the instructions given to the deputies, the British constitution was in general the pattern of what they wished their own government to be. They demanded equal taxation, the abolition of *lettres de cachet*, or arbitrary imprisonment, the responsibility of ministers, and the extinction of the feudal privileges of the nobles: but they wished that the three orders of the state should sit and vote in one house. The nobles, on the contrary, though willing to renounce some of their pecuniary privileges and to sacrifice the power of the crown, were decidedly resolved not to surrender their feudal prerogatives, or the right of sitting in three separate assemblies; in which case, each of the orders might easily resist the encroachments of the other two.

Necker has been strongly censured for not deciding this last important point previously to the meeting of the States-general; but it should be observed that the purpose of calling the Assembly was to overthrow the unjust privileges of the higher orders through its medium, and without any direct interposition of the government. Had the king determined in favour of three chambers, the nobles and clergy would have upheld all the ancient abuses established in their behalf, of which he wished to deprive them, and the crown and its prerogatives would have been the only objects of sacrifice. It was, therefore, deemed safer to leave the *tiers état* to fight its own

battle; for it was not imagined that the commons of France, depressed and poor, and dispersed by situation over all the provinces of the kingdom, could ever unite in enterprises dangerous to the sovereign.

As no limits were fixed in regard to qualification, a great number of persons possessing no property, especially advocates, were elected deputies of the *tiers état;* and it is a prevailing opinion to this day that the progress of the revolution was chiefly accelerated by men of this needy class, who had every thing to gain and nothing to lose.

"Necker," says Alison, "imposed no restraints whatever on the persons who were to be chosen representatives. Every Frenchman twenty-five years of age, domiciled in a canton, who paid the smallest sum in taxes, was declared eligible. The consequences were that youths who had but just left school; lawyers unable to earn a livelihood in their villages; clergymen barely raised in income or knowledge above their humble flocks; physicians without practice; advocates without briefs; the ardent, the needy, the profligate, the ambitious, were at once vomited forth from all quarters to co-operate in the reconstruction of the monarchy. Very few of the Assembly were possessed of any property, fewer still of any knowledge. And yet from such a body all classes in France, with a few exceptions, expected deliverance from the evils or difficulties with which they were surrounded, and a complete regeneration of society. The king, his ministers, and courtiers, anticipated a liberation from the vexatious opposition of the parliaments and more ready submission from a body of men who were thought to be so incapable of combining as the *tiers état;* the nobles, the restoration of order in the finances, and relief from the public embarrassments by the confiscation of the church property; the commons, release from every re-

straint, and boundless felicity from the new state of society that was opening upon them."

The numbers of the deputies of the three orders were: clergy, 293, of whom 210 were *curés*, or parish priests; nobles, 270; and *tiers état*, 565, including 279 lawyers. The nobles of Bretagne were so infatuated as to refuse to send any representatives, and thus a considerable vacancy was left on the benches of their order.

But, if lawyers abounded in the Assembly, it was remarked that it embraced very few persons of literary or philosophical reputation, excepting Bailly and one or two others. It was not merely men conscious of talents and panting for distinction, which the existing order of things prevented them from acquiring; it was not only the reckless, the ardent, the desperate, who hoped that any change would better their condition, that ranged themselves in opposition to the government. A portion of the nobles espoused the popular principles. To say nothing of the duke of Orleans, who brought a princely fortune, a selfish heart, and depraved habits, to forward the work of corruption, but wanted energy and steadiness to rule the party which his prodigality had created, there was the marquis de Lafayette, who had imbibed in America republican sentiments, which, however, did not prevent him from doing his duty faithfully to his sovereign; the counts de Lally-Tollendal and Clermont-Tonnerre, both warm admirers of the English constitution; the duke de Liancourt, the marquis de Crillon, the marquis de Montesquieu, the vicomte de Montmorency, and several other distinguished persons, whose ardour for the public weal was not wholly free from political illusions. In others of the nobility, the enthusiasm for liberty had not so noble a motive, but it is to be ascribed rather to the hatred which they bore to the court for real or imaginary wrongs.

The states were summoned to meet at Versailles on the

27th of April, and most of the deputies arrived by that time; but, the elections for the city of Paris not being concluded, the king deferred the opening of the session till the 4th of May. During this interval, the members, having nothing to occupy them, began to form acquaintance with one another. A few deputies from Bretagne, partisans of the popular cause, constituted themselves into a club called the *Comité Breton*, into which many other deputies, and persons not belonging to the Assembly, were gradually admitted. Such was the origin of that society which, under the appellation of the Jacobin Club, afterwards spread terror and consternation through all France.

Two days before the meeting of the States-general, a riot, attended with the loss of many lives, took place in the faubourg St. Antoine. A report was circulated among the people that Reveillon, the wealthy and enterprising proprietor of a manufactory of stained paper, had used some hard-hearted expressions relative to labouring men, such as that their wages ought to be reduced, that wheaten bread was too good for them, and they ought to be content with potatoes. The riot was not occasioned by Reveillon's workmen, who were much attached to him, and whom he had supported during the severe winter, when he had no demand for his goods. Six thousand persons collected in the Place Royale and burned an effigy of Reveillon, at the same time reading a sentence of the *tiers état*, condemning him to the gallows; and then, their numbers being increased by vagabonds and discontented persons, they proceeded to his manufactory. Reveillon, as soon as he was aware of the impending danger, sent for succour, but twenty or thirty soldiers, who were ordered to protect his house, could not repress the furious mob, and remained quiet spectators of the tumult. The building was plundered and gutted. Every

one dreaded further excesses from these bands, intoxicated with wine and brandy. At length, a numerous detachment of the French and Swiss guards arrived, and surrounded the house in which the rioters were. The latter, at sight of the soldiers, posted themselves at the windows and on the roof, and flung stones and tiles upon them. The soldiers bore this quietly for some time; but, receiving orders to employ force, they fired, and brought down a great number of the wretches, who were killed. The guards then penetrated into the house; but the rabble, entrenched in the rooms, defended themselves with a rage and obstinacy, which could only be the effect of their drunkenness. The soldiers, incensed at this resistance, killed between four and five hundred of the rioters. Many were found in the cellars poisoned by nitric acid, which they had mistaken for ardent spirits and swallowed. A considerable number were taken, most of them having from six to twelve francs in their pockets. Among these were discovered runaway galley-slaves, who had been sentenced to the gibbet. At first, the alarmed Parisians approved the severity that had been exercised; but they soon changed their opinion, and thought that there was no necessity for such a slaughter. The court regarded the duke of Orleans, who is said to have been seen among the mob, as the instigator of this disturbance, and conceived that he purposed by such scenes to pave the way to his projected usurpation. The king deemed it his duty to indemnify Reveillon.

On the 4th of May, the day before the opening of the Assembly, the king, the great dignitaries, and the deputies of the three orders, went in solemn procession from the church of Notre Dame to that of St. Louis to hear mass. The court displayed extraordinary magnificence, and the deputies were dressed according to the etiquette which it had prescribed. The clergy walked first in sur-

plice, cassock, and square cap, the bishops in purple robes, with their rochets; next, the nobility in black velvet coats, the other garments of cloth of gold, silk cloak, lace cravat, and hat adorned with white plumes; lastly, the *tiers état* in a plain suit of black, with short cloaks, and hats without feathers. It was remarked that the duke of Orleans, who walked last, as of the highest rank among the nobles, lingered behind, so that he was surrounded by the members of the *tiers état*, who immediately followed. The streets were hung with tapestry belonging to the crown; the guards formed a double line from Notre Dame to St. Louis; the balconies were adorned with costly stuffs, and every window was filled with spectators. On reaching the church, the three orders seated themselves on the benches assigned to them in the nave. The king and queen took their places beneath a canopy of purple velvet, surrounded by the princes, the princesses, the great officers of the crown, and the ladies of the palace. The bishop of Nanci delivered a sermon, in which, having pronounced the word liberty, he was interrupted by vehement applause — a circumstance which had never yet occurred in a place dedicated to divine worship.

On the following day (May 5) the Assembly of the States-general was opened with great pomp and solemnity in a hall erected for the purpose, and into which the deputies of the commons were admitted, after long waiting, by a particular door. The clergy sat on the right, the nobles on the left, and the commons in front of the throne. Loud applause attended the entry of the popular leaders, and of those who were known to have contributed to the convocation of the States: one alone attracted general attention — that was Mirabeau. The ministers and the deputies having taken their seats, the king, followed by the queen, the princes, and a brilliant

retinue, placed himself on the throne, and the three orders immediately rose and covered themselves; for the days were past in which the members of the third estate were obliged to remain uncovered, and to speak upon their knees. Many persons of distinction, especially ladies, were filled with alarming presentiments at this sight;* the queen appeared greatly agitated; the king alone manifested his usual composure, and delivered a speech from the throne, in which he congratulated himself on thus meeting his assembled people; alluded to the public debt and the taxes, which were severely felt because unequally levied; took notice of the general discontent and spirit of innovation which prevailed; but declared his confidence in the wisdom of the Assembly for remedying every evil. This address was received with applause, but the deputies anxiously awaited the speech of Necker, hoping that it would explain more precisely the real sentiments of the court. After an uninteresting speech from Barentin, the keeper of the seals, the minister read a long memorial, which occupied three hours, was confined almost exclusively to the state of the finances, and disappointed all who heard it. He expatiated on the wonders that he had achieved during this his second administration, which had lasted scarcely six months. According to him, the deficit, which, under his prede-

* Madame de Stael, Necker's celebrated daughter, relates that she beheld it from one of the galleries, in company with Madame de Montmorin, the wife of the minister for foreign affairs. She herself exulted in the boundless prospect of national felicity, which seemed to be opening under the auspices of her father. "You are wrong to rejoice," said Madame de Montmorin; "this event forebodes much misery to France, and to ourselves." Her presentiment proved to be too well founded: she herself perished on the scaffold with one of her sons; another was drowned; her husband was one of the victims slaughtered in the prisons in September, 1792; her eldest daughter was cut off in goal, and the youngest died of a broken heart, before she had attained the age of thirty.

cessor, amounted to 150 millions (of livres) was reduced to fifty-four, and the king, he said, would soon do away with it completely, by means of prudent economy and restored credit. The convocation of the States-general, he added, might consequently have been dispensed with; the king, however, having once given his word, was determined to keep it, but at the same time to introduce more unity into the constitution. On the question which for the moment engaged all minds, that respecting the mode of their deliberations, he avoided any precise explanation; but contended that it was advantageous to vote by orders, rather than by individuals, and that at least the one form ought to alternate with the other. By this language he hoped to gain the court-party and the nobility, to check the too bold advance of the *tiers état*, and thus to bring the two extremes nearer together. But he was disappointed; the two privileged classes did not thank him for his timid advocacy, and regarded his moderation as mere hypocrisy.

Necker himself excited alarm in the king respecting the views which several members of the States seemed to entertain; while even a superficial observer must have perceived that by his advice the reins of power had been relinquished. It was, therefore, the easier for the party adverse to him at court to fill the mind of the sovereign, who, without any fondness for rule, yet could not for the sake of his family, see with indifference his hereditary prerogatives wrested from him, with mistrust of a minister who stood so high, and who was solicitous to raise himself still higher, in the popular favour. Hence arose an unfortunate disharmony in the mind as well as in the council of the king. In the circle of his confidants, Louis was prejudiced by the queen, the count d'Artois, the prince of Condé, the baron de Breteuil, and others, against all those measures which Necker recommended

as expedient, in order, by compliance with the wishes of the people, to recover the lost power of the throne, and to consolidate it anew upon the basis of the public welfare.

On the following morning, the deputies of the three orders assembled in their respective halls for the verification of their powers, that is, the production of their commissions and the examination of their authenticity. To the deputies of the *tiers état*, on account of their number, the general hall of meeting had been assigned, and they insisted that the two other orders should join them there, for the purpose of verifying their powers in one common assembly. What benefit could they derive from the doubling of their number, if the orders were not to deliberate together! The secession of the two privileged classes they considered as a declaration of war; still they acted with moderation, and steadily pursued a well-calculated plan. For several weeks, during which the embarrassment of the finances increased to the highest degree, and anarchy made gigantic strides, the three orders remained inactive in their separate halls.

The third estate meanwhile adhered stedfastly to its purpose. Seventy or eighty of its members, with Mounier, Malouet, Bergasse, and Thouret, at their head, showed a sort of repugnance to any decisive resolution, and wished to avoid irritating the privileged orders; but they had neither the inclination nor the power to join the latter, which did not invite them: while many of the clergy and the nobles were impatient to unite with the commons, and merely dreaded the reproaches which their desertion would draw upon them from their colleagues. The *tiers état* sent deputations to the two other orders. They were received with kindness and respect by the clergy, on whom Target made an extraordinary impression by a speech in which he besought them, in the name

of the God of peace, to meet the commons in the general hall of assembly, to consult upon the means of effecting the concord so necessary at that moment for the public welfare.

The court and the ministers took an opposite course; and the king, who would fain have maintained the balance between the orders, was not able to accomplish that object. He offered his mediation to the three estates, but none could form any precise notion of the plan of reconciliation which Necker had projected, and to which he adhered. "Deliberate together," said he, "on matters that demand unity of purpose, of action, and of interest; questions of less moment and importance let the orders discuss separately." When asked who was to determine the necessity of the joint deliberation, he replied: "The king." All the parties protested against this proposal, alleging that, in this case, the government would have the power of thwarting every intended measure that was not agreeable to it. There was a far better and more simple method of removing this difficulty, if namely the clergy and the nobility had formed an upper chamber, possessing the same prerogatives and privileges as the English House of Peers. Necker, like some of the most enlightened men in France, was in favour of this plan, but he durst not propose it either to the States or to the king, who showed a strong disinclination to act the part of a limited monarch like the king of England. If the minister had any serious thoughts of carrying this difficult but salutary project into execution, it behoved him to neglect no means of persuasion with the most eminent speakers of each order: but thoughtful, absent, frequently embarrassed, he stood in some measure alone, though his situation required the utmost activity and incessant exertion.

Meanwhile, the pretensions of the commons increased

with the indecision of their adversaries. Convinced that they should soon be joined by a great proportion of the clergy and the most enlightened of the nobles, they began to think of declaring themselves a constituent assembly. Every thing depended on the name which they should assume, and the choice of which must be of incalculable consequence. On the 17th of June, when this question came to be discussed, some proposed that they should call themselves "The Representatives of the Third Estate;" others preferred "The Commons of France." The abbé Sieyes went further, and said: "Consider, gentlemen, what you are; the chamber of the nobles represents 150,000 individuals, and we represent twenty-five millions." He moved that the assembly should be called "The Representatives of the French Nation." Mirabeau was not quite satisfied with this designation, as he did not wish the total abolition of the patrician dignity. He proposed therefore to substitute "People" instead of "Nation." At the term "People" some of the deputies were highly offended, but the ready speaker continued to pacify them, by quoting the expression of lord Chatham, who always said with so much pride: "The majesty of the English people." At length, on the motion of Legrand, the title of "National Assembly" was adopted by an overwhelming majority. No sooner was the result of the votes declared, than the hall rang with shouts of applause from the immense concourse of spectators. Bailly, eminent as an astronomer and mathematician, was chosen president, and Camus and Pison le Galand secretaries.

The first acts of the National Assembly were decidedly expressive of its own sovereignty. It declared all taxes imposed without the consent of the representatives of the people to be null and void; but gave a temporary sanction to the existing imposts, though illegal till the dissolution of the assembly and no longer. It placed the cre-

ditors of the state under the safeguard and honour of the French nation, and announced that it should immediately direct its attention to the causes of the prevailing dearth and public distress.

It may be right to observe that, as the hall destined for the general assembly of the three orders had been assigned to the *tiers état*, it afforded room for numerous spectators, who were admitted contrary to the express prohibition of the king. On the opening of the States-general, these spectators erected themselves into a second representative body by the plaudits with which they greeted the deputies of the third order and those of the other two orders who were favourable to the popular cause; and the speakers in the Assembly found their account in permitting the existence of this illegitimate power and suffering it to gain strength. The boldest and most decisive assailants of the other two orders felt flattered by the applause which the rabble bestowed on them, and were encouraged to measures of increasing boldness by the manifest fact that the government was incapable of enforcing its commands. The electoral colleges of Paris, by which the deputies of the *tiers état* had been chosen, also continued their meetings contrary to the commands of the king; and a periodical work, which Mirabeau published, and which he filled with vituperation of the minister, after it was prohibited, only had a more extensive circulation under another title.

The first proceedings of the National Assembly plainly indicated that the supreme authority over France was from that moment taken from the monarch and transferred to the deputies whom he had called as his advisers. The court and the nobles were thunderstruck; nay, scarcely less astounded were many of the members of the commons, who found themselves much more deeply involved in the revolution by these measures than they had ever

wished or intended to be. Such of the nobles and the clergy as espoused the royal cause uttered exclamations of indignation and horror, and none could tell how this unexpected stroke was to be parried. Three of the clergy now quitted their own hall and went to that of the *tiers état*; their example was followed by several others, and soon afterwards by seven bishops. At length on the 19th of June, a majority of the clergy voted for the verification of their powers in common with the National Assembly, and resolved to unite themselves with it on the following day.

Necker was convinced of the necessity of some decisive step for repressing the too aspiring spirit of the popular party, which he had called forth and cherished. He took the English constitution for his model, though he knew that the court party was most adverse to it, nay, considered it as a crime to degrade the descendant of Louis XIV. to the pitiful position of a king of Great Britain: but in men who maintained that the third estate alone constituted the nation, he recognized far more dangerous foes to his plan, according to which the part of the lower house only was to be assigned to that order. Necker therefore advised that the king should, upon pretext of putting an end to the disharmony subsisting between the orders, hold a solemn sitting, as on the day when he opened the assembly, and grant to the nation, as an act of royal bounty, the bulk of its demands, manifested partly in the general expression of the public opinion, partly in the instructions of the electors, namely, the equalization of the taxes, the abolition of the most oppressive of them, likewise of *lettres de cachet*, *main-morte*, and the royal chases, a reform of the criminal code and administration of justice, the alleviation of the military service, complete liberty of the press, the abolition of the exclusive right of the nobles to civil and military appoint-

ments, joint deliberations on general matters, but particularly the right of the States to grant imposts and to require an account of their expenditure. He conceived that these important concessions would conciliate public opinion to such a degree that the commons would find themselves obliged to embrace immediately the further overtures of the king, although hostile to their pretensions. These were to purport that the king annulled the resolutions of the *tiers état* of the 17th of June, by which that order alone had erected itself into a legislative assembly; that even resolutions of the united assembly of the States could obtain validity only by the approbation of the monarch, and that this approbation was refused beforehand to every plan for a future constitution of the kingdom and of the States, which should propose only one undivided legislative assembly and not two chambers at least. The king was moreover to reserve to himself the executive power to its fullest extent; he was to forbid the presence of all strangers at the discussions, to ensure to the nobles and the clergy the possession of their honorary distinctions and feudal rights intact, unless modifications should be adopted by each of the three orders and approved; lastly, to declare null those instructions of the electoral assemblies by which some of the deputies conceived themselves bound to deliberate only by orders, and others only in a single united assembly. He was to conclude with a threat that, in case the States would not support the King in his endeavours to found the public happiness, he should consider himself as the sole representative of his people, and strive to accomplish that great object without their assistance.

In a final council of ministers all the votes were in favour of the adoption of this measure, and the monarch was on the point of giving his approbation, when a message brought by a page caused him to leave the council

for a short time. On his return, he said that a measure of such importance must first be discussed in the council of state, and, in spite of the most urgent remonstrances, he adhered to this declaration. It was believed that the influence of the queen had produced this unusual obstinacy of purpose. That princess had previously approved all the dispositions in favour of the third estate; and the slanders which had been circulated against her ever since she set foot in France had not originated with the middling or the lower classes of society, though she was no favourite with either, but with some of the grandees of the court. But, when the movements of the popular party assumed a threatening aspect, Marie Antoinette was suddenly seized with a gloomy presentiment that the ruin of the royal family would proceed from this quarter; and from that moment she avowed that she regarded the nobility as the main pillar of the throne, and should make every effort to preserve and uphold it.

While the king was wavering between contradictory councils, and the majority of the clergy were preparing to join the commons, the marquis de Montesquiou proposed in the chamber of the nobility that they should immediately declare themselves the upper house, the assent of which was requisite to give to the resolutions of the lower house the complete expression of the national will: but the nobles were deficient in that courage which marked the proceedings of the *tiers état*. In the disputes between the court and the parliaments, they had taken a hostile part against the throne, and crippled its means of defence; and now, when every thing depended on an energetic opposition to the commons, they found it safer and more convenient to place themselves behind the king, and to check through him the further activity of the National Assembly.

When the king, who had been for some days at Marly,

was informed of the approaching junction of the clergy with the commons, he felt how necessary it was to prevent the fulfilment of that intention. To this end, as Necker's plan for a royal sitting was not yet decided upon, it was resolved to suspend the meetings of the assembly, and on the 20th of June the heralds proclaimed at Versailles that the king would meet the States on the 22nd. The marquis de Brézé, master of the ceremonies, had in writing requested the presidents of the three orders to defer their separate sittings till that time, on account of the preparations which must be made for the king's reception. The nobles and clergy complied; but Bailly, president of the third estate, replied that he could not attend to the intimation, as he had received no command on the subject from the king himself. The deputies, therefore, repaired on the 20th at the usual hour to their hall, but found the door closed, and guarded by soldiers. A great concourse of people collected around them, and by their applause and sympathy increased the courage and indignation of their representatives. It was proposed, in defiance of the court, to adjourn to some other place; a neighbouring tennis-court was mentioned as suitable for the purpose, and thither the deputies retired, attended by the crowd and a number of soldiers, who voluntarily formed an escort for them. In their new place of assembly nothing was to be seen but the bare walls. The president refused a chair that was brought for him, and a bench was made to serve for a table. Many of the members were apprehensive of an immediate dissolution. It was, therefore, at first proposed to repair immediately to Paris, and to place themselves under the safeguard of the inhabitants of the capital. On the motion of Mounier, however, it was agreed that the National Assembly should take an oath to continue its meetings in any place where circumstances

might require them to be held, and not separate till the constitution was framed and established on a solid basis. This oath was immediately pronoûnced and subscribed by every member excepting one, Martin of Castelnaudary, who, whether from courage or timidity, refused to participate in an oath involving a manifest renunciation of obedience to the royal authority. On the following day the assembly met in the church of St. Louis, as the tennis-court was closed by order of the princes, to whom it belonged, on the pretext that they were going to play in it: and there it was that the majority of the clergy, to the number of 148, headed by the archbishops of Vienne and Bordeaux, and the bishops of Chartres and Rhodez, joined the assembly; and two deputies of the chamber of the nobles followed their example.

Meanwhile, the court at Marly had come to no decision respecting the course to be pursued in the royal session. This was deferred by the king till the 23rd, and another council was held to consider the overtures proposed by Necker's plan to be made to the States. Necker admits that in this consultation he assented to some modifications; but asserts that others, of more essential importance, were afterwards made behind his back. According to the plan thus modified, the future constitution of the States was not to be a subject of general deliberation; the division of the three estates, and their formation into three chambers, (instead of the two proposed by Necker) were declared an irrevocable fundamental law; and the clause granting in future to all the citizens without distinction equal claims to all civil and military appointments was wholly omitted. The other essential points were retained. Necker conceived that with these changes his plan would wholly miscarry, and that, instead of conciliating, it would only serve to exasperate public opinion, especially by upholding the exclu-

sive right of the nobles to public offices. He, therefore, determined to absent himself from the sitting, but did not acquaint the king with his intention.

The appointed day arrived. The royal session was held in the most splendid form, but altogether in the style of the ancient despotism. The two higher orders were seated, when the representatives of the third estate, who had received orders to enter at a side-door, were kept waiting a full hour in the rain, which fell without intermission, before the repeated knocking of the president could obtain admittance for them. All the ministers were in their places, excepting one—the seat destined for Necker was vacant. His absence was construed into a protest against the act and purpose of the monarch, and Necker's protest at that moment was equivalent to the protest of the whole nation.

The king took his seat on the throne, surrounded by his guards. He was received in sullen silence. He commenced with a speech, in which he expressed to the deputies his displeasure at the disharmony by which they had been prevented from deliberating on the measures necessary for the welfare of France; and then ordered two edicts to be read. The first confirmed the voting by orders as essentially linked with the constitution of the state, and annulled the resolutions passed in a contrary spirit by the assembly, though, under certain circumstances, the voting by heads might be admissible. A second edict enumerated the royal concessions, which were to form the groundwork of the new constitution. The king promised to sanction the abolition of the exemption from taxes, when that exemption should be relinquished by the higher orders; he maintained all their feudal rights, both honorary and profitable, as inviolable property; he did not command the union of the three estates on matters of general interest, but held out hopes

of it from the moderation of the clergy and the nobles. He granted the institution of provincial states, the removal of the internal tolls to the frontiers, the security of personal liberty, the periodical convocation of the states-general, and the attribution to them of the right of imposing taxes; but he said nothing about any active share in the legislative power to be possessed by the States, and was silent both concerning the responsibility of ministers and the liberty of the press. Under other circumstances, however, the concessions which he did make would have satisfied the popular wishes, and procured him the thanks of the nation; but, in the then prevailing temper of the public mind, they were considered as so many refusals. The king further declared that, if the States would not assist him in his efforts, he would singly and alone take upon himself the task of founding the happiness of his people. He concluded with commanding the assembly to separate immediately, and each of the orders to meet on the following day in its respective hall.

The nobles and part of the clergy obeyed this command and followed the king, but the members of the third estate kept their seats. That secret charm by which the royal authority had hitherto produced obedience was dissolved. Mirabeau first broke silence. "Commands indeed!" he exclaimed; "and from whom? From our mandatory, who ought to receive them from us, the inviolable incumbents of a popular priesthood. I propose that we envelop ourselves in the dignity of the legislative power, and in accordance with our oath refuse to separate till we have given the state a constitution." The master of the ceremonies came back and asked the president if he had heard the commands of the king. "I will take those of the assembly," replied Bailly. "Yes, sir," cried Mirabeau, "we have heard what the

king has been prompted to say; but as for you, you have neither voice, nor place, nor right to speak here. By what authority then do you presume to lecture us? Go, tell your master that we sit here in the name of the nation, and that nothing but the point of the bayonet shall drive us from our post." General applause declared these to be the sentiments of the whole assembly. On the motion of Sieyes, it proceeded to deliberate on the maintenance of its preceding resolutions. "The first of these resolutions," said Barnave, "has declared what you are; the second relates to the taxes which you alone have a right to grant; the third is the oath to do your duty. None of these measures needs the royal sanction. The king cannot prevent that to which his assent is not required." Workmen now arrived to clear away the materials employed in fitting up the place for the reception of the king; soldiers crossed the hall; others surrounded the outside, and the life-guard advanced to the very door. The assembly continued its proceedings without interruption, and unanimously voted the maintenance of the preceding resolutions. On the motion of Mirabeau, it further declared every one who should offer violence to any of its members a traitor to his country and guilty of a capital crime.

Meanwhile, the nobility, who looked upon the state as saved by this bed of justice, presented its congratulations to the sovereign. The queen, holding her son in her arms, and showing him to these devoted servants, received their oaths, and gave herself up to a blind confidence. At this moment shouts were heard; and, on inquiring the cause of them, it was ascertained that the people were assembling in crowds and applauding Necker, because he had not attended the royal sitting. Joy was succeeded by alarm. In the evening Necker was sent for, and, as he assures us, the king and queen

besought him, as he valued the welfare of France, to retain the office which he had signified his wish to resign. The minister complied, and on leaving the palace was received by the assembled crowd with shouts of applause, and escorted by it to his hotel. Thither the deputies of the commons and many of the nobles and the clergy thronged to present their congratulations. His absence from the royal sitting had once more made him the idol of the day; and the leaders of the factions knew how to turn the vanity of the minister and the alarm of the court to their own account.

At the meeting of the deputies on the succeeding day, forty-seven members of the nobles, headed by the duke of Orleans, joined their ranks, and were received with prodigious applause. On quitting the hall of the nobles for that of the National Assembly, Orleans had shown a degree of sensibility that would scarcely have been expected of him: he was so overpowered that he fainted, and on loosing his clothes, it was found that he had a breastplate beneath them. The assembly would have nominated him president, but he declined the honour, alleging that he was not qualified for such an office. The archbishop of Vienne was appointed in his stead. The other members of the nobles and the clergy were insulted by the people as they went to their respective halls. Juigné, archbishop of Paris, an honest but prejudiced man and a great stickler for the privileges of his order, was pelted with stones by the populace in the streets of Versailles, and might have fared very ill but for the swiftness of his horses. The king, by Necker's advice, thereupon commanded the two higher orders to join the third; and on the 27th of June, all three were assembled in the same hall only three days after the royal sitting, in which their union had been expressly forbidden. To no purpose had the majority of the nobles represented to

the king, through the duke of Luxemburg, the dangerous consequences for his authority which must result from this step. Louis declared that he deemed it his duty to make the sacrifice to rescue his faithful servants from the dangers which threatened them; and, when further urged, he used the humane expression, but an expression not the less pregnant with mischief: "I will not suffer a single life to be lost on my account. Tell your colleagues," he added, "that I implore your order to join the other two; and if that is not sufficient, say that, as their king, I command them to do so." Agreeably to this peremptory injunction, the majority of the nobles and the rest of the clergy repaired to the National Assembly. "We are come," said the duke of Luxemburg, who was at their head, "out of respect for the king, and to prove our love for the country." "Now," replied Bailly, the president, "the whole family is together."

Some writers, especially Lacretelle, in his History of the French Revolution, have almost treated the repugnance of the king to the sacrifice of human life as a crime, and are of opinion that the words employed by Louis XIV., in his absurd self-conceit, "I am the state," would have been more suitable to the occasion. The faults of Louis XVI. were indeed his good-nature and his pliability, not however towards his people — a man must be stricken with the darkest blindness to think that—but towards his advisers and those about him, who took advantage of his weakness, and towards the queen, herself an instrument of selfish and interested persons who abused her influence over the king in every possible way. Had the plan framed by Necker, in which each had made some alteration to suit his own private views, been left unchanged, things might probably have taken a different turn: as it was, the king was made to act the

meanest and the most mischievous of all parts, namely, that of the most ridiculous and contemptible inconsistency.

The compliance of the king revived hope and confidence in the minds of many of the well-disposed, and quieted the alarms of others. The intelligence of it was hailed as that of a victory. Crowds of people thronged to the palace; the king and queen were obliged to show themselves on the balcony, and greeted with cheers, which were followed by others for the minister, the duke of Orleans, Bailly, and various friends of the third estate. Swayed by the disagreeable impression produced by these scenes, the king again listened to Necker's opponents, and adopted their advice to collect an army of thirty thousand men, consisting of German, Swiss, and Italian regiments in French pay, under the command of the duke de Broglie, in the environs of Paris, to give new efficacy to the royal authority. Prating courtiers pretended that, under the protection of these troops, the National Assembly was to be removed to Compiègne, and, after a hasty concession of the demands made by government, to be there dissolved. The most alarming reports, alread too much favoured by the popular spirit, were industriously circulated. Some of the court party wished for a commotion, in order to give permanence and effect to the king's resolutions; the popular leaders, that terror and consternation might cause them to be rescinded. Sometimes it was said that the adversaries of the nobles had been apprehended and dragged to distant fortresses; at others that the hall of the Assembly had been undermined and the excavation filled with gunpowder, that red-hot balls were ready to be fired upon it, that Paris and Versailles were to be besieged and starved. A dreadful famine was then raging through the kingdom, and this calamity, usually felt most

severely in a great city, prepared the minds of men for receiving unfavourable impressions of their political state. No efforts were spared to produce dislike of the ancient order of things. The press poured forth innumerable publications, filled with new and seducing, though in general impracticable theories of liberty. These were distributed gratuitously both in Paris and in the provinces. The duke of Orleans was with good reason believed to have defrayed the cost out of his more than princely revenues. The Palais Royal, which had lately been rebuilt at an immense expense, and its gardens, belonging to that duke, were the focus of the agitation. Here crowds assembled and listened to orators who descanted from morning till night on the most violent subjects of popular politics. Many of these orators were suspected to be in his pay; and it was even believed that his money found its way into the pockets of some of the most distinguished leaders of the National Assembly.

The electors of Paris, when the elections were over, had continued to assemble, for the purpose of giving fresh instructions to their representatives as circumstances required. They had been treated in the same manner as their deputies: their hall had been closed; but they repaired to another, and at last it had been found expedient to give up the Hotel de Ville to them. All that occurred at Versailles was known in a few hours in Paris; and thence, frequently misrepresented and exaggerated, it spread over all the provinces of the kingdom; so that men's minds were kept in a continual fever of alarm and excitement. Persons who had nothing to lose but every thing to gain by a total revolution naturally took advantage of this state of things, to set themselves up as the champions of a suffering people, striving to better its condition. Those who were supposed to be in the pay of

Orleans were particularly active, and distributed money among the populace. All these circumstances soon led to an event, which was of the more importance on account of the disaffection already existing among the French soldiery towards the government.

For a month past, the regiment of French guards, three thousand six hundred strong, had shown symptoms of discontent. The general enthusiasm began to seize the soldiers. By an over-anxious attention to petty details, and the impolitic severity with which they were enforced, the duke de Chatelet, colonel of the regiment, had drawn upon himself the hatred and the contempt of his men. The inferior officers and privates were moreover galled to find themselves cut off by the recent regulations from all possibility of promotion. These guards punctually performed their duty, but they openly espoused the part of the people, and declared that they would make common cause with them. The regiment was in consequence ordered not to leave its barracks. In spite of this prohibition, three hundred of the men repaired to the Palais Royal, where they were received with the most vehement demonstrations of applause. Money was given to them, and to such a length was the general enthusiasm carried, that women of quality and distinction publicly embraced these men as they walked about with prostitutes hanging upon their arms. Soldiers of other regiments, lying in the environs of Paris, hastened to the Palais Royal to obtain the like presents and honours. At length, it was deemed expedient to resort to rigorous measures. Eleven of the guards were apprehended and sent to the prison of the Abbaye. As soon as the populace was apprized of this circumstance, the general cry in the galleries and gardens was: "Let us go and release them!" More than six thousand men set off shouting "To the Abbaye! to the Abbaye!" Their numbers in-

creased at every step. They provided themselves with implements of all sorts, and thus equipped they reached the doors of the prison. A party of dragoons was on duty there, but quitted their post on the approach of the mob. The doors were broken open with axes and sledge-hammers, and the prisoners conducted in triumph to the Palais Royal, where they were sumptuously feasted and then taken to the Théâtre des Variétés. Next morning it was determined to place these men under the safeguard of the National Assembly. That body scarcely knew how to act, but came to the prudent resolution to solicit their pardon from the king. Louis directed that they should be sent back to the prison, from which, by his order, they were soon afterwards released.

This commotion furnished the court with a welcome pretext for collecting troops round the capital. The chief command of them was given to the old marshal Broglie, who had grown gray under the habit of passive obedience; but whose name, though his military operations during the seven years' war, had reflected honour on the French army, was scarcely known to the young soldiers. The king told him that to his hands he committed the salvation of the state, and the marshal replied as though he were already master of the capital. A staff was formed: numerous aides-de-camp were incessantly galloping from battalion to battalion; the noble officers ventured to throw out threats, and did not weigh the language which they dropped before their men, who were all of plebeian birth. Their indiscreet expressions were reported to the National Assembly: the intentions of the aristocracy and the court were apparent; and the king was even accused of participating in them. They talked of nothing less than entirely dissolving the Assembly, and inflicting exemplary punishment on the boldest of the deputies and champions of the people. Necker disapproved these mi-

litary movements, and thereby rendered himself more intolerable than ever to the court.

The Assembly had been lately occupied with a declaration of the rights of the man and the citizen; but the assemblage of troops and the conduct of their leaders suspended the discussion of this subject. They beheld with alarm the long trains of artillery and cavalry which were continually passing through the streets of Versailles. Mirabeau proposed an address to the king, praying for the removal of the troops: it was voted by the Assembly. A deputation of twenty-four members presented this address. The king replied that the troops were assembled for the preservation of the peace of the capital; that he intended to remove them to Compiegne, whither he purposed going himself: and in this case he should adjourn the National Assembly to Noyon or to Soissons. "We will not remove either to Noyon or to Soissons," exclaimed Mirabeau. "We will not place ourselves between two hostile armies—that which is beleaguering Paris, and that which may fall upon us through Flanders or Alsace. We have not asked permission to run away from the troops; we have desired that the troops should be removed from the capital."

Thirty-five thousand men were now collected in the environs of Paris and Versailles. The points commanding the city were occupied, and camps marked out for a greater force. The queen, the count d'Artois, and their party, who considered their plans as ripe for execution, now insisted not only on Necker's dismissal from office, but on his exile from France. The minister had frequently tendered his resignation, well aware that, under such circumstances, his services could not be useful. On the 11th of July the king, urged by those about him, addressed a note to the minister, intimating that the moment was now arrived when his retirement had become necessary; and

that he expected from his attachment to him that he would set off secretly without saying a syllable on the subject to any one. This note was handed to Necker in his drawing-room, surrounded by friends and deputies. Not the least change was perceptible in his manner; he continued the conversation, and gave directions as though he should have to transact business with the king on the following morning. As soon as it was dark, he entered a post-chaise, and proceeded without stopping from Versailles to Brussels. The other ministers, his friends Montmorin, La Luzerne, and St. Priest, were dismissed at the same time with him.

CHAPTER VIII.

POPULAR INSURRECTION IN PARIS; STORMING OF THE BASTILLE.

On the following day, Sunday, July 12th, all Paris was in consternation at the news of Necker's dismissal; and alarm was mingled with indignation, when it was known that Breteuil, Broglie, Foulon, and other enemies to the popular cause, were to compose the new administration. The Orleans party determined to take advantage of this ferment to place their leader at the head of the state. Groups of people collected in all quarters. The Palais Royal was thronged as usual. Here a young advocate, Camille Desmoulins, first attracted public notice. Leaping upon a table, with a pistol in one hand, and a drawn sword in the other, he threatened death to every traitor who should side with the court. "To arms, to arms!" he cried, "while it is yet time to prevent the slaughter of all the patriots and friends of the people!" Plucking a leaf from a tree, he fastened it to his hat by

way of cockade, and exhorted the crowd to follow his example. The trees were instantly stripped; the signal for a general insurrection was given, and it was followed even by women and children. At this moment, Orleans was returning from a ride; the mob surrounded his carriage, imploring his aid, and his reply was, "My lads, you must arm."

The populace first repaired to an exhibition of wax-figures, seized those of Orleans and Necker, and carried them in triumph through the streets of Paris. Men of hideous appearance, armed with swords or sticks pointed with iron, led the crowd, which increased every moment, and was already joined by many soldiers with green cockades. Meanwhile, the baron de Besenval, who commanded the Swiss guards, had taken post with them and two other foreign regiments in the Place Louis XV. Six pieces of cannon were drawn up to overawe the mob that poured in on all sides. The bearers of the busts approached these troops, hoping to be joined by them, but were disappointed; for, being almost all Germans, they scarcely comprehended the meaning of the uproar. A detachment of the Royal German regiment of dragoons, commanded by the prince de Lambesc, rushed upon the rabble, destroyed the busts, and wounded several persons, among whom was a soldier of the French guards. These guards, who were in barracks near the Place Louis XV., were well disposed towards the people and hostile to the Royal Germans, with whom they had, a few days before, had a quarrel. The mob fled to the Boulevards, the quays, and the garden of the Tuileries, pursued by the prince de Lambesc, who fell upon the people quietly walking in the latter, and killed an old man in the confusion. The universal cry now was, "To arms!" The report of musketry was heard, and a cannon-shot, fired as a signal for the troops to assemble, increased the

general alarm. Lambesc had ordered sixty of his dragoons to observe the French guards. These, exasperated at the news of the preceding occurrences, could no longer be restrained by their officers, but, sallying from their barracks, fired upon the dragoons, two of whom were killed on the spot and several wounded; the rest fled. With bayonets fixed, the guards then marched at the charge-step to the Place Louis XV., where they joined the populace, and took post between the Champ de Mars and the Champs Elysés, maintaining their position the whole night. The troops in the Champ de Mars were now ordered to advance, and were received by the French guards with a fire of musketry; they refused to fight. The Swiss guards first set this example, which was followed by the other regiments. Besenval, fearful of entangling himself in the narrow streets of Paris, fell back upon the Champ de Mars. The foreign troops encamped outside the city refused, in like manner, to march upon the capital, which was now left to itself.

There was no force or authority for curbing the rioters. Encouraged by the defection of the troops, they broke open and plundered the gunsmiths' shops, and forced and burned the barriers and the toll-houses during the night. Those brigands, who had been observed so active in the attack on Reveillon's house, again made their appearance, springing as it were out of the ground, armed with pikes and bludgeons. The peaceful citizens were in the utmost consternation; many of them barricaded themselves in their houses, expecting nothing less than a general massacre.

The morning of the 13th was ushered in by the ringing of the alarm bells, a sound not likely to allay their apprehensions. They repaired to the Hotel de Ville, where the electors were assembled, demanding arms. To give a more legal form to their authority, that body

sent for Flesselles, the *prevot des marchands*, the proper head of the administration of the city; a certain number of the electors were appointed his assistants, and thus a municipality was formally constituted. With the assistance of the lieutenant of police, a plan was framed for raising and arming a civic militia of forty-eight thousand men, to be furnished by the districts. Instead of the green cockade, which was obnoxious as the colour of count d'Artois, a cockade composed of red and blue, the colours of the city of Paris, was adopted. Such was the origin of the national guard, of which the marquis de la Salle was appointed commandant ad interim. The French guards and the night-watch, having offered their services, were enrolled in this new force.

An immense multitude filled the Place de Grève, incessantly crying for arms. The same morning the house of St. Lazara was plundered of the corn deposited there, and the Garde-Meuble broken open and stripped of the ancient armour, swords, pikes, battle-axes, and other weapons which it contained. With these the populace accoutred and armed themselves; so that the sword of Henry IV. himself was turned against the authority of his descendant. Flesselles endeavoured to evade the demands of this furious multitude for arms, sending in quest of them to various parts of the city where they were alleged to be concealed, and pretending that he expected a considerable quantity from Charleville. Apprehensive of an attack from the foreign troops during the coming night, the people waited impatiently for the promised supplies, and suspected that they had been deceived, when they heard that five thousand pounds weight of powder, which was to have been sent off secretly, had been stopped at the barriers. Chests now arrived with the inscription "Artillery." These were supposed to contain the muskets from Charle-

ville, but, on being opened, nothing was found in them but rags and bits of wood. The multitude was fired with indignation against the prevot, who declared that he had been deceived, and directed them to go to the convent of the Carthusians, where they would find arms in abundance. The astonished friars led the applicants all over their house, and convinced them that they possessed nothing of the kind. The rabble returned more exasperated than ever; and the committee, to appease them, issued orders for the manufacture of fifty thousand pikes. To prevent excesses during the night, the committee directed that the whole city should be illuminated, and that patroles should traverse the streets in all directions. The Hotel de Ville was, nevertheless, threatened by the brigands whom the tumult had called forth from their haunts, and who had been joined by more than twenty thousand labourers, mostly foreigners, dismissed by the government, for want of money, from the quarries of Montmartre. A courageous elector, Moreau de St. Mery, to whose care the place had been committed, caused barrels of powder to be brought, and threatened to blow up the building. The brigands retired.

It was well known that the Hotel des Invalides, the Chelsea Hospital of France, contained a great quantity of arms. On the morning of the 14th, the mob, exasperated by their disappointments on the preceding day, repaired thither and demanded their delivery. M. de Sombreuil, the commandant, replied that he would send to Versailles for instructions, and ordered the doors to be barricaded. The old soldiers, infected by the popular discontent, threw open the doors, and the mob carried off in triumph twenty-eight thousand stand of arms, besides cannon, swords, and other weapons. The cannon were immediately planted at the entrances of the faubourgs, on the quays, and on the bridges, for the defence

of the capital against the troops whichwere every moment expected.

It was now rumoured that the regiments quartered at St. Denis were marching to Paris, and that the guns of the Bastille had been pointed upon the city. The alarm-bells were again rung. Those who could not provide themselves with muskets were armed with swords, lances, bludgeons; the spectator might have imagined that the ancient warriors had risen from their tombs, as part of the mob, arrayed in the armour and helmets taken from the Garde Meuble, cut a most grotesque figure. On all sides were heard cries of "To the Bastille!" "down with the Bastille!" For four hours these cries rang from one end of the immense capital to the other; while the peaceful inhabitants were filled with horror at the idea of the devastation which its guns could not fail to produce. This ancient fortress, erected in the 14th century as a defence against the English, afterwards employed to overawe the capital, and as a prison for state-criminals, had ceased, under the humane Louis XVI., to be a place of confinement for innocent victims; but the former destination of the Bastille lived in the memory of the people; and, learning its slender means of defence—for the whole garrison consisted of no more than 115 invalids and Swiss—and relieved from apprehension by the inactivity of the soldiery, the incensed mob directed its efforts against the former instrument of tyranny. The first precaution which the commanders of the troops assembled round Paris should have taken — to garrison the Bastille with a few battalions of trustworthy troops — had been neglected. The attempt of the populace would nevertheless have been thwarted, but for the indecision of de Launay, the governor. Thuriot de la Rosière, deputy of a district, obtained admission, and begged the governor to alter the direction of his guns, which were

so pointed as to command all the approaches to the place. De Launay promised not to make use of his means of defence unless he should be attacked. Thuriot left the fortress, and reported this result to the crowd, a great portion of which consequently withdrew.

In half an hour, a fresh body of the populace arrived and demanded the surrender of the fortress. De Launay would have yielded at the first summons, but was dissuaded with great difficulty by de la Flue, a Swiss officer. Two of the assailants, old soldiers, clambering, some say, on the guard-house, others on bayonets thrust into the wall, struck with axes at the chain of the first drawbridge. The chain was broken; down crashed the bridge; the multitude rushed across it to a second, and attempted to serve it in the same manner. The garrison fired; many of the assailants fell; the others drew back for a moment, but soon returned to the charge.

The electors assembled at the Hotel de Ville, hearing the report of musketry, and, becoming more and more alarmed, sent two deputations, one on the heels of the other, requiring the governor to admit into the fortress a detachment of the national guard, on the ground that all the military force of the capital ought to be at the disposal of the city authorities. These two deputations arrived in succession amidst the siege by the populace. It was difficult for them to obtain a hearing. The sound of the drum and the sight of a flag caused the firing to be suspended. The deputies advanced, but they could scarcely make the garrison comprehend the nature of their errand. The mob, persuaded that it was betrayed, rushed forward and endeavoured to set fire to the building. The garrison then fired upon it with grape.

The conflict had lasted an hour, the soldiers firing down upon the people from the platform of the keep: the ground was strewed with slain, but a greater num-

ber perished by accidents and the excessive confusion than by the balls. The French guards now came up with cannon, and commenced an assault in form. During these proceedings, a letter addressed by Besenval to the governor, desiring him to hold out and he should soon be relieved, was intercepted and read at the Hotel de Ville.

After a few bold efforts, the drawbridge fell, and the guards penetrated into the first court, followed by the people. The first person who met their view was a young and beautiful female. "That is the governor's daughter," cried one: "let him surrender, or we will burn the girl." Infuriated miscreants seized her and were preparing to execute the infernal suggestion by means of a sack filled with straw, when a grenadier of the French guards ran up, rescued the unfortunate victim from the hands of the rabble, conducted her to a place of safety, and returned to the fray. She was the daughter of M. de Montigny, an officer of the garrison, who had been killed during the siege.

The governor, seeing no hope of succour, now seized in despair a lighted match, to blow up the fortress; but the garrison opposed his intention, and obliged him to surrender. The white flag was hoisted. "Down with the bridges!" was the incessant cry of the besiegers. A slip of paper was thrown through a loophole, in which the garrison offered to surrender on condition that they should be permitted to march out with the honours of war. The countless multitude refused the demand. The officer who made it then proposed that they should lay down their arms on a promise that their lives should be spared. "Let down the bridges," cried the foremost of the assailants, "and no harm shall be done to you." The gates were accordingly opened, and the bridges let down, about five o'clock in the afternoon. The populace,

enraged by the resistance which they had met with, rushed in and took possession of all the courts, but would not hear of any capitulation. Most of the Swiss escaped death by putting on white frocks over their uniform and thus passing for prisoners; but the governor and three other officers were torn from the arms of the guards who strove to protect them, dragged towards the Hotel de Ville, and murdered by the way or in the Place de Grève, where several of the privates of the Invalides were hanged from the lamp-posts. The mob seized the bodies of the officers before life was extinct, cut off their heads and one of their hands, and carried these bloody trophies on the points of pikes to the Hotel de Ville, amidst shouts of victory and yells of revenge. Other victims had fallen, though heroically defended against the fury of the rabble.

The hall of the committee was suddenly filled with the armed band, bearing in triumph a French guardsman, covered with wounds and crowned with laurels, and the regulations and the keys of the Bastille, on the point of a bayonet. They reported what had happened to the committee, and insisted on the execution of the prisoners, who had fired upon their fellow-citizens; but La Salle and St. Mery found means to pacify them and to obtain a general pardon for the unfortunate soldiers. It was now alleged that a letter written by Flesselles had been found in the pocket of the governor, exhorting him to hold out till night, when he would positively send him reinforcements; adding, "I will, meanwhile, amuse the Parisians with cockades and promises." Some proposed that he should be sent to the prison of the Châtelet; others were for taking him to the Palais Royal, and trying him there; while others again shouted, "Down with the traitor!"—"Well," said he, "since I am suspected, I will retire; but let two of these gentlemen go with me

to examine my papers." The mob, however, insisted on taking him to the Palais Royal: the unfortunate man expressed his readiness to comply, walked down the steps through the crowd, which made room for him, but was shot dead with a pistol by the way. His head was fixed upon a pole, and, with the others, carried about the streets in triumph. This hideous train of men, women, children, and soldiers, dragging along with them the prisoners and the cannon which they had taken, was every where received by the crowd of spectators with enthusiastic applause. Ladies threw from the windows ribands, flowers, and garlands, as an homage to the heroes of the first day of French liberty. Night and rain put an end to these scenes; but, on a report that troops were penetrating through the barriers, to set fire to the city and to murder the inhabitants, the alarm-bell again rang, the national guard flew to arms, the streets were barricaded, and the stones of the pavement were torn up and carried to the tops of the houses, to be thrown upon the assailants. That same night, however, the force assembled in the Champ de Mars quitted its camp by command of the king, and, leaving behind its tents and field-equipage, marched in all haste for Versailles.

There, on the news of the first disturbances that had broken out in Paris, the National Assembly continued sitting night and day, without intermission. Before intelligence of the taking of the Bastille had arrived, it had sent two deputations to the king, earnestly soliciting him to withdraw the troops. It alleged that their presence was the cause of the insurrection; that the maintenance of the peace of the capital ought to be committed to the national guard; that Necker and the dismissed ministers had carried with them the respect and the confidence of the nation; and that the new ministers and the other

advisers of his majesty, be their rank what it might, should be held personally responsible for all the present and future calamities. On both occasions, they received vague and evasive answers. Orleans was then urged by his partisans to repair to the assembled council of state, and to offer his mediation to the king, upon condition of being appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom; but he was irresolute, and proved himself on this occasion to be utterly incapable of assisting in the execution of important designs. Instead of going in boldly to the council, he lingered outside the door; and when it broke up and Breteuil was retiring, he was so confused that he could only entreat the minister to obtain for him the king's permission to go to England, in case matters should take a disastrous turn.

The king was at first kept entirely in the dark concerning passing events by those around him. Though some of them might perhaps have been well pleased to see a petty riot, yet a general iusurrection filled them with the utmost alarm, on account of the firmness with which the humane monarch adhered to the principle that to avoid the effusion of blood was his first duty as a prince. All means were therefore employed to pacify his mind: Paris playbills and prices current, printed by Breteuil's direction at Versailles, were laid before him. He was now for a moment disposed to follow the advice of marshal Broglie, and, under the protection of the troops recalled from Paris, to repair with his family to Metz. Breteuil promised to restore the royal authority in its fullest extent in three days. Broglie, who was to command the operations against the capital, was furnished with unlimited powers. On the 15th of July, the king's declaration of the 23d of June was to be renewed, and the National Assembly to be compelled to accept it and then dissolved. Forty thousand copies of this declaration were

ready to be distributed throughout all the provinces of the kingdom. To relieve the embarrassment of the exchequer, bank-notes to the amount of more than a hundred millions were prepared; the state was to be declared bankrupt, and the capital attacked in seven places at once. The court flattered itself that the events in Paris, instead of obstructing, would rather forward its designs; it considered them as a mere riot, which might easily be quelled, and thought it impossible for the city and its inhabitants to resist an army. After the example of the Parisians, the courtiers distributed money among the soldiers, and great numbers of them were entertained at Trianon and in the orangery at Versailles, on which occasion the princes, the queen, and ladies of the highest distinction, lavished fair words and flattering attentions even on the subalterns and privates. They laughed at the attempt of a mob to storm the Bastille, which the great Condé had besieged in vain, as an act of insanity, and hailed the thunder of the cannon of that fortress as a favourable sign, since it indicated that the troops had at last resolved to act against the people. All the commanders had orders to advance upon the capital in the night between the 14th and 15th.

Meanwhile arrived intelligence of the surrender of the Bastille. The court and the ministers were overwhelmed with confusion and dismay; these were increased, if possible, by an intimation from marshal Broglie that the troops had refused to act against the city or the National Assembly. Louis had retired to rest ignorant of the real state of affairs, when, about midnight, the duke de Liancourt, a member of the Assembly, but a sincere friend to the king, who, by virtue of his office of high-chamberlain, had access to him at all hours, awoke his majesty, and acquainted him with the events that had occurred and the disaffection of the troops. "This is a revolt,"

said the king, after a long silence. "It is a revolution, sire," replied the duke. Louis resolved to go next morning to the Assembly, and to signify his compliance with its demands.

That body had already met, and, unaware of the king's intention, resolved to send to him one more deputation, being the fifth, which was just ready to set out, when the arrival of the monarch, accompanied only by his two brothers, was announced. The hall rang with applause. "Wait," cried Mirabeau, sternly, "till the king has acquainted us with his intentions: let us receive him in silence. The silence of nations is a lesson for kings." Louis entered; he regretted the commotion in the capital, declared that he considered himself as identified with the nation; that he looked solely to the assistance of its representatives for the establishment of the public welfare; and that, confiding in the loyalty and affection of his subjects, he had commanded the removal of the troops. His speech was received with vehement shouts of applause, which the president, in his reply, condemned as indecorous and derogatory to the respect due to majesty. The Assembly escorted him back to the palace on foot. The queen, with the dauphin in her arms, witnessed this scene from a balcony; the music played the pathetic air,

"Ou peut on être mieux
Qu'au sein de sa famille."

The enthusiasm of loyalty was communicated to the surrounding multitude, and nothing was heard but acclamations of joy.

The National Assembly then appointed a deputation of one hundred of its members, among whom were Bailly, Lafayette, Lally-Tollendal, and Liancourt, to acquaint the people of Paris with the sentiments of the king. Their presence produced the liveliest joy. In the hall of the Hotel de

Ville, Lally delivered a speech, in which he descanted on the king's reconciliation with the Assembly and the removal of the troops in such glowing language, that all were filled with enthusiasm; and he was carried to a window, overlooking the spot where his father had been executed, crowned with a wreath of flowers, and exhibited to the populace. Bailly was proposed and nominated successor to the unfortunate Flesselles, with the title of mayor of Paris. In the hall there was a bust of Lafayette, presented to the city by the United States of America. The appointment of commandant of the national guard having been refused by the duke d'Aumont, Moreau de St. Mery cast a significant look at the bust, and Lafayette was unanimously called to the vacant office. On the proposal of the archbishop of Paris, the Assembly proceeded in a body to Notre Dame, where Te Deum was performed. Next day the electors resolved that the Bastille should be razed to the ground. This resolution was proclaimed by sound of trumpet, and it began immediately to be carried into effect, amid the exultation of multitudes of benevolent enthusiasts, who never suspected that the tyranny of liberty would soon fill other prisons with much greater numbers of victims than the tyranny of kings had ever confined in the Bastille. At the time of its destruction, that fortress contained no state-prisoners, but only a few persons imprisoned for civil misdemeanours. The sight of the subterraneous dungeons made the spectators shudder; but the gaolers declared that for fifteen years past—that is to say, since the accession of Louis XVI.—not a creature had been shut up in them.*

* Only seven prisoners were found in this fortress at the time of its capture; among these were earl Massareene, an Irish nobleman; major White, a Scotchman; and count de Lorges. The former, on reaching the British shore, fell upon his knees, kissed the ground, and fervently thanked God that he was once more in a land of true liberty: the two

The king was urged to go to Paris, to acquaint the people in person with his sentiments. Louis submitted to this dangerous humiliation. He proceeded thither without any of the pomp of royalty, accompanied in his carriage by four gentlemen of his court, and escorted by a hundred members of the National Assembly on foot and a detachment of the national guard of Versailles. At the barriers of Paris, he was received by the new magistrate of the city, at the head of the municipality and the national guard. Bailly delivered to him the keys of the capital, saying: "Sire, these are the same that were presented to Henry IV.: he had conquered his people; now it is the people who have reconquered their king." He was conducted through an innumerable con-

others appeared to have sunk from long confinement into a state of imbecility.

Great exaggeration has no doubt been employed in describing the horrors of this fearful prison. In former reigns, it is true, and even in the time of Louis XV., cruelties had been there perpetrated, the recital of which thrills the blood with horror and indignation. Pelison, a prisoner of eminence, who passed many years in solitary confinement here without seeing a living creature excepting the gaoler, at length succeeded, by infinite pains, in taming a spider, which had found its way into his dungeon. It came when he called it, bore him company, ran about on his hand, and became the object of his tenderest affection, because it was the only living thing about him. One day the gaoler unexpectedly entered, and found the prisoner talking to his fondly loved spider. With the utmost coolness, he seized the little insect, flung it on the floor, and crushed it with his foot.

A fact related by La Tude is still more revolting. On account of a youthful indiscretion, he languished for thirty-five years in this prison. When a thoughtless young man, he had written some verses on the royal mistress, Madame de Pompadour, and was sent in consequence to the Bastille; from which, however, he effected his escape by a plan conceived with great ingenuity, and executed with admirable caution, perseverance, and presence of mind. He fled to Holland, but thither he was pursued by the vengeance of offended female vanity. He was again taken, brought back to the Bastille, and more strictly confined than before. Here he lingered out the best years of his life. He longed for society. In the subterrannean dungeon into which he was thrown, he found means to

course to the Hotel de Ville. Here an arch of bayonets and naked swords was formed over his head, and the new national cockade was attached to his hat by the mayor. His address was simple and touching. When he showed himself to the people on the balcony, decorated with the national colours, the ancient enthusiasm for the sovereign revived, and he was greeted with the loudest acclamations. When he retired, many crowded around him, kissing his hand, the skirts of his coat, and even his footsteps; the horses and carriage were bedecked with the national cockade, and shouts of joy accompanied him to Versailles, where he was received with tears by the queen who had given him up for lost, her mind being racked by rumours of dark designs which his enemies meditated against him in Paris.

tame the rats, but was separated from these his good friends, and removed to a room in the donjon tower. Here a pigeon one day settled before his window. He strewed bread crumbs, and the bird returned on the following days. He then pulled threads out of his shirts, made a net of them, and caught the pigeon. It was a male, and the female soon came in quest of her mate. He fed this pair, tamed them, and was excessively fond of them: they constituted his only delight and pastime. It was not long before the gaoler informed him that he had orders to kill the birds. At these words, La Tude was fired with rage. The gaoler made a movement to seize the innocent creatures; but the prisoner hastened to anticipate him, and, catching up both, he strangled them in his fury. That moment was perhaps the most harrowing in his life. For some days he refused all sustenance: sorrow and indignation took possession of him by turns, and he felt the strongest abhorrence of his own kind.

Such traits as these prove more forcibly than any empty declamations what sort of a prison the Bastille had been. Since the revolution, it has become known that the most refined cruelties were practised on the prisoners in the Bastille while Sartine was lieutenant of police. This man was also the inventor of the decorations of the face of the great clock which was seen from the court where the wretched prisoners were sometimes allowed to breathe the fresh air. This face was supported by two figures, a man and a woman, who had chains round their necks, wrists, legs, and waists. Around the dial-plate were wreaths of curiously interwoven chains, uniting at top—a horrible emblem to the prisoners of their everlasting confinement.

A panic terror had that same day seized the advisers of the queen at Versailles. The count d'Artois, with his two sons, the prince of Condé, marshal Broglie, baron Breteuil, and the Polignac family, so dear to the queen, conceiving that a Parisian army was marching to Versailles, fled to Brussels, Germany, and Switzerland, leaving the royal pair whom they had so ill advised to their fate, and setting the example of that extensive emigration which proved a source of such calamity to France.

At the suggestion of the National Assembly, Louis now determined to recall Necker, most of his new ministers having quitted the country. The king's letter was accompanied by one from the Assembly, begging Necker not to prefer his own ease to the public welfare, and to comply with the benevolent wishes of the king towards the nation.

Great agitation continued to prevail in the capital. The electors at the Hotel de Ville imitated the National Assembly, the districts imitated the electors, and at length the different trades and professions met in taverns and public houses to deliberate on the reform of the constitution and the welfare of the state. Bailly directed that each district should send two deputies as representatives of the commune to the Hotel de Ville, to assist in establishing the constitution. The electors had formed several committees, one of which was charged to superintend the police and the safety of the city, and another the supply of provisions. This was a very difficult and even dangerous task. An extreme dearth of the prime necessaries of life still reigned in the famished city. Bailly's attention was engrossed night and day for the alleviation of this evil. The convoys of corn and provisions were frequently stopped, and it required strong escorts to prevent them from being plundered before they reached their destination. To keep down the price of bread, corn was sold at a considerable loss to the bakers; but the inhabitants

of the environs resorted to the city for bread, and in consequence it continued to be dear.

Lafayette, as commandant of the national guard, had not fewer difficulties to encounter than Bailly. That force was composed not only of citizens but also of French guards, deserters from other regiments, and even a number of Swiss, many of them enticed by the increased pay. It had now adopted a uniform and, adding white, as the king's colour, to those of the city of Paris, mounted the tricoloured cockade, of which Lafayette predicted that it would make the tour of the world.

The consequences of the events of July 14th were immense. The movement was communicated with the rapidity of lightning to all the provinces of the kingdom. After the example of the capital, municipalities and national guards were every where instituted, for the purpose of self-government, and, if need were, of self-defence. The immediate cause of this prodigious armament was a report industriously circulated throughout all France of the approaching destruction of the harvest by brigands, who were spreading themselves over the whole country—a stratagem played off by the leaders of the revolution, in order to place the entire armed force of the kingdom at their disposal.

Lists of proscription began already to be posted up at the Palais Royal. Among those who were pointed out as objects of the popular vengeance, were Foulon, an old man of seventy, a member of the administration which had just been broken up, and his son-in-law, Berthier de Sauvigny. The former devised the following scheme for escaping the fury of the people. One of his servants having just expired, he spread a report that it was he himself who had died, and bestowed on his remains as pompous a funeral as if it had been his own. At night he fled for safety to the chateau of M. de Sartine. But some of his

tenants, to whom he was obnoxious for his severity, learning where he was concealed, went in search of him. He was soon discovered, seized, and conveyed by his own peasants to Paris. A collar of nettles was put round his neck, a bunch of thistles in his hand, and a truss of hay at his back, in allusion to an expression which he was said to have used, that "the people ought to learn to eat hay." The populace would have torn him in pieces but for the courageous efforts of the national guard, who conducted him in safety to the Hotel de Ville. The magistrates assured the multitude that he should be tried forthwith; but the people insisted on his being delivered up to their vengeance. Bailly strove to pacify them, while Lafayette made incredible efforts to save Foulon's life. He was torn from their arms by the savage mob, and hung to a lamp-post. Twice the cord broke, but again he was suspended amidst shouts and acclamations. His head was struck off and carried about the streets upon a pike.

Berthier was seized about the same time as his father-in-law, at Compiegne, and had to endure the like ill-usage on his way to Paris. He was met, on his arrival, by the mob, bearing Foulon's bleeding head, which at first he did not recognize, but which was lowered so as to touch his face. Bailly and Lafayette again made the utmost exertions to rescue him from the popular fury, but in vain. Seeing that the rabble were bent on taking his life, Berthier snatched a musket from one of the national guard, rushed among them, and fell pierced with lances and bayonets. A dragoon tore the yet palpitating heart from his body, and, having boasted of the atrocious deed among his comrades, one of them, for the honour of the regiment, challenged him to a single combat and despatched him. For two successive days the heads of the victims were paraded about the streets upon

pikes. Thus early were the populace habituated to scenes of blood and murder; they were even taught by popular songs to glory in such horrors, and especially by the well-known *Ça-ira*. They were not only excused but commended by members of the National Assembly. When it was proposed to issue proclamations against them, Mirabeau observed that the punishment of one vizir ought to be a warning to the rest; that such storms usually accompany great revolutions; and that the multitude had a right to do themselves justice. Barnave asked if the blood that had been spilt was so pure as that it was worth while to raise such a clamour about it; and Robespierre first attracted notice by his defence of these sanguinary proceedings.

A few days afterwards, Necker's return produced more joyful scenes. He had travelled through the Netherlands, and had not received the letters of the king and the National Assembly till he reached Basle, where, to his astonishment, he met with several of those fugitives whom he had left shortly before in full possession of power and of the royal favour. Convinced, as he must be, that he should find himself in a disagreeable position from the incongruity of his moderate principles with the popular excitement, and the want of confidence in the king, who recalled him with reluctance, he nevertheless determined to obey the summons, because he deemed it his duty to offer his popularity as a prop to the sinking throne—a magnanimous resolution, but which savoured of vanity, because he had not the requisite force for carrying it into effect.

His return was a complete triumph. The people drew his carriage from village to village; the magistrates congratulated him in speeches; the young females met him with wreaths, and the national guards under arms. In less than a fortnight, this force had increased

to upwards of two millions. Necker, in all his replies, recommended to them respect for property, forbearance towards the clergy and nobility, and loyalty to the king. He gave passports to several persons who wished to leave France, and at his own risk directed that his countryman, Besenval, who, notwithstanding his inaction on the 14th, had been apprehended as an enemy of the people, at some distance from Paris, should not be conveyed to the capital, where certain death would have awaited him. At Versailles, Necker was received by the National Assembly with extraordinary distinctions. Heralds were sent to meet him, an arm-chair was placed for him, and the representatives of a mighty realm forgot how ill noisy shouts and acclamations were suited to their dignity.

Necker's appetite for applause, however, was not yet satiated. He resolved to go to Paris, professedly to set himself right with the electors and the people, on account of the step which he had taken of his own authority in favour of Besenval, and to effect the liberation of that general. The enthusiasm with which he was received amounted to intoxication: at his intercession, pardon was promised to those who were accused of being enemies of the people, and an order for setting Besenval at liberty was immediately issued by the electors. When the minister appeared upon the balcony of the Hotel de Ville, he seemed to have arrived at the pinnacle of his power. But not many hours had elapsed before he learned that the populace are led by other arts than the tears and intreaties of upright men. The sections of the citizens, instigated by the partisans of Orleans and Mirabeau, disapproved the pardon granted to the enemies of the people; they annulled the order for Besenval's release, as issued by an incompetent authority, and forced the electors to resign their functions to a newly chosen municipality of one hundred and twenty members.

Necker, whose removal the leaders of parties had made a pretext for inflaming the minds of the people, now sunk, as he stood there without party means and expected every thing from the voluntary adherence of the right-minded, far more rapidly than he had risen, into total insignificance; which serves precisely to refute not only those who place him among the party leaders, but also those who attempt to set him up for a great man. He already began to rue, when too late, the levity with which he had let loose the spirit of the age; for egregiously did he find himself disappointed in his hope of preventing the impending mischief.

With the tidings of the popular justice which had been exercised without obstruction in Paris, and which continued to be inflicted on several victims, a state of lawless anarchy spread over all France. Partly urged by the dearth which had taken place, owing to the failure of the crop of the preceding year, partly incited by a spirit of plunder, and moreover instigated, as it would appear, by secret agents, the populace, in several of the large and small towns, first fell upon the king's officers and those of the commune, and next upon all who were pointed out to it as aristocrats and enemies of the people, pillaged and destroyed their houses, and murdered those who failed to avoid its fury by a precipitate flight. The public coffers, the armouries, the prisons, were every where broken open; the destruction of all fetters, the cessation of all servitude, of all imposts, were every where proclaimed. In the country, in many places the mansions of the nobles were plundered and burned by the peasants; the owners and their families were maltreated or butchered; and forbearance was purchased only by the remission of all rents and the sacrifice of the crops.

Amid these horrors, the champions of the new liberty

and equality, who, from the place which they had chosen on the left of the president's chair, were denominated the left side, frequently had, though a minority, the ascendency in the National Assembly. In discussions which were taking an unfavourable turn for them, they already began to appeal to the rabble collected in the galleries, or they sent off couriers to Paris, where measures were pursued to produce commotion, the alarm-bells rung, and the masses called together. All the energy then centered in the democracy. Hence it was only a democratic party, with Lafayette at its head, which, as the defender of moderation and order, could counteract this monster with any force. But this party, which was called the American, because it considered the constitution of the United States, for which its leaders had fought, as the most perfect, and which it strove to transfer to France in the form of a limited monarchy, abounded more in good-will for liberty and in disinterested sentiments than in profound knowledge of the nature of the political and social system of Europe, which rests upon a far deeper foundation, and has attained a far higher point of inward development than that which has recently shot up in America from the soil of a borrowed civilization. Unmindful that Europe has for thousands of years possessed a history and a religion, to which the threads of our civil and social life are attached, these friends of liberty brought under discussion a declaration of the rights of man, in which the basis of human society was resolved into the maxims of philosophising reason, and placed upon the wavering notion of the general advantage. As though the French nation had but just then arrived at the threshold of human and civil polity; as though the doctrine of the equality of all men in the sight of God, and of the universal duty of brotherly love, had never been heard within the boun-

daries of France; at any rate, this most inapposite declaration, composed of ideas, some partially true, others totally false, was to be placed at the head of the new constitution, and for several successive days the National Assembly was listening, as in an academical lecture-room, to disputations on the state of nature and the origin of civil society. It was aptly remarked by one, that, instead of the rights of man, they ought to prefix the ten commandments to the new constitution; and still more aptly by another they were reminded of that commandment which declared the gospel to be the first of all. A fondness for theoretical definitions and metaphysical sophistries blinded them to the truth that lay before their eyes.

The popular commotions continued with aggravated violence through France, and atrocities which would have disgraced savages themselves were perpetrated. The military, with the exception of such officers as belonged to the old nobility, declared everywhere in favour of the people. At Strasburg, a fight took place between two regiments, and that which was supported by the mob proved victorious. At Caen, scenes similar to those witnessed in Paris occurred. M. de Belzunce, a young officer of noble family, who was disliked on account of the strict discipline which he enforced, was cut in pieces and literally devoured by his murderers. The marquis de Barras was likewise cut in pieces before the face of his wife, who was far advanced in pregnancy and died of fright. The most cruel tortures were inflicted on many of the nobles, who refused to deliver up their title-deeds to be destroyed by the rabble: red-hot irons or coals were applied to the soles of the feet; others had their eyebrows and hair burned off; and some were thrown naked upon dunghills or into ponds, while their mansions were set on fire. In short, all the roads were covered with

nobles and their families, fleeing for safety to the towns or to the frontiers of France.

The National Assembly was meanwhile too much occupied with defining the rights of man to take into consideration the duties of the people and the right which the nobles had to the public protection. At length, in the night of the 4th of August, a report having been presented to the Assembly on the atrocities committed in the provinces and the means of putting a stop to them, the vicomte de Noailles, a nobleman imbued with democratic sentiments, commenced the discussion by declaring that words would be inefficient unless the Assembly proved to the people by deeds that it was really desirous of affording relief. He therefore proposed the abolition of all those oppressive privileges which, by the general name of feudal rights, had excited the popular fury. This proposal, seconded by the duke d'Aiguillon, produced an extraordinary sensation. The conviction of many that these concessions had become inevitable in the emergency of the moment, concurred with the enthusiasm of others in favour of the principle of equality to beget an absolute rivalry in the adoption and extension of the measure. A series of resolutions, decreeing also the abolition of seignorial jurisdictions and of the exclusive right of hunting and fishing; the right of compounding for the seignorial dues; the redemption of tithes; equality of taxes for all classes; and the admission of all citizens to civil and military appointments, passed by acclamation. The sale of public offices, the holding of pluralities either ecclesiastical or temporal, and of pensions obtained without claims, were to cease. In like manner, all the peculiar rights and constitutions of the different provinces of the kingdom were declared extinct, and guilds suppressed. Trial by jury was to be immediately introduced. Some of the members, how-

ever, strove to check the too precipitate progress of innovation; and in one of the ensuing discussions, when it was proposed to abolish tithes without redemption, a violent opposition was raised. Sieyes, a democrat, but personally interested in this matter as canon of Chartres, declared the abolition of tithes a robbery committed upon the legitimate holders of the tithes in favour of those by whom they ought to be paid. "Sixty millions," said he, "will be given not to the State, not to the people, but to wealthy landholders, who purchased their estates upon the estimate of their former produce." Mirabeau maintained, on the other hand, that the clergy ought to be paid by the State; and, as this expression excited marks of disapprobation, he confounded his adversaries by this bold assertion: "There are but three ways of living in civil society; either as a beggar, a robber, or a stipendiary. The landed proprietor himself is only the first of stipendiaries. What is commonly called property is only the price that society pays for those contributions which the holder has to make to others of its members: the landed proprietors are but the managers and stewards of the social body." The discussion terminated in the abolition of the tithes payable to the clergy, including the dues to hospitals; and the king, who by his confirmation gave to these decrees the force of laws, was hailed by the title of "Restorer of French Liberty."

The savage explosions of the popular fury seemed now either to subside or to be repressed by the force which the arming of all the citizens and the voluntary institution of new popular authorities opposed to them: but party spirit was becoming more violent. The sudden abolition of mere abuses can never take place without making a great number of persons discontented: and how many adversaries must be roused by a system which undertook to

overthrow, along with abuses, the whole complicated structure of social institutions as useless and incongruous, and to erect a new edifice on different foundations and of totally different proportions! The defects of the old order of things were excused or forgotten under the hardships of the new, by many of those who had before been partisans of the revolution. Others, stancher friends of the new legislation, were at least staggered by the results that began to ensue. But while the hopes of the court, awakening from its state of lethargy and humiliation, seemed to revive in consequence of this change of sentiments in many of the deputies, its real strength was not increased, because the elements which should have united against the party of the revolution were too discordant. Necker possessed neither the confidence of the king nor influence over the Assembly: from pride, or error in judgment, he had neglected the opportunity of gaining the formidable Mirabeau. The court-circle, which was by no means broken up by the flight of its leaders, and still maintained its influence over the king, showed its antipathy to the moderate friends of freedom; and the latter, notwithstanding their superior number, were much less active in the execution of their plans than the demagogues composing the minority. Most of the members of the National Assembly were upright and moderate men; but the champions of the people not unfrequently induced their compliance by clamours, hisses, threats, calumnies, satires, and lists of proscription. If they were apprehensive of being vanquished according to the usual form of discussion, they insisted that each member should give his vote aloud, and thus in general accomplished their object, because many timid persons were afraid of exposing their property or their lives to the attacks of the robbers and murderers whom their antagonists kept in their pay.

Under these circumstances, those points of the constitution which were determined in the months of August and September were entirely in the spirit of that party. The hopes which all intelligent men had rested upon an upper house sunk through the indifference with which the greater part of the nobles, who were still full of the ancient privileges of their order, supported this too slender compensation, and were at length annihilated by the resolution that the legislative assembly should consist of only one chamber. A silly remark of Rabaut S t Etienne's — "One God, one nation, one king — consequently one chamber," decided the question.

It was proposed to give to the king, instead of any participation in the enactment of laws, a right to suspend for four years the validity of a decree by the refusal of his assent. The discussions on this royal *veto*, as the right of refusal was called, were carried on with the greatest animosity; and the multitude, not understanding the word, formed the most absurd conceptions of it: the veto was described as a sworn foe to the people, whom the adherents of the court were determined to support at all risks, but whose power the friends of freedom were anxious to reduce. The speakers on both sides manifested the infancy of their political wisdom in setting up the royal right of rejection as one of the principal elements of the constitution, since even in England it is only an honorary right of which no use is ever made. The power of the government here consists in bringing the will of the representatives of the people into harmony with its views, or in neutralising it by means of the upper house, before it is pronounced as a law. To suffer this will to be completely expressed, and then to assume that the mere veto of the sovereign could annihilate it or defer its operation for a series of years, was a contradiction against the nature of a limited constitution, which

could not fail to produce mistakes and inconsistencies in the application. Thus, when Louis gave his assent to the decrees of the 4th of August, with some remarks and limitations, his unconditional and immediate confirmation was imperatively demanded and obsequiously granted, at the very moment when the Assembly was voting the suspensive veto. Such laws as formed essential articles of the constitution were declared on the 21st of September to be valid even without the royal assent.

While the National Assembly was engaged in framing the constitution, the embarrassment of the finances, the immediate cause of its convocation, increased from day to day. Necker, thwarted in two plans for raising a new loan, proposed, on the 24th of September, after he had presented to the Assembly a lamentable picture of the state of the finances, that every citizen should sacrifice a fourth of his income for the liquidation of the public debt; and he set the example himself by contributing one hundred thousand livres as his proportion. The king and queen had previously sent their plate to the mint to be melted down. The National Assembly adopted this plan, and voted an address to its constituents, exhorting them to make this indispensable sacrifice for the country: but, while it was yet deliberating, the scarcity of money and of provisions became more urgent than ever. Necker expended large sums to supply the capital with corn; but a report was circulated that the court was getting all the money into its own hands, in order to fill the magazines for fresh assemblages of troops. The dearth which then prevailed was in all probability produced by those who wished by fresh popular commotions to induce the king to remove to Metz. Men, hired for the purpose, beset the bakers' shops, carried away the bread which they had bought, and threw it into the river. Thus commenced the unhappy employment of evil for the pro-

motion of good intentions, which has disguised truth in so many different ways, and given birth to the opinion that the greatest atrocities of the revolution were purposely brought about by its victims, to raise enemies against it and to throw every thing into confusion. And not a little did the wretched maxim that things must be much worse before they could be better contribute to the subsequent calamities.

CHAPTER IX.

REMOVAL OF THE KING TO PARIS.

The very agitation which then prevailed turned to the account of the adversaries of those by whom it was chiefly occasioned. They considered it as the most favourable moment for transferring the king and the National Assembly, in accordance with their long-cherished plan, to Paris, the focus of ever-ready commotion, where the moderate majority might be completely overruled. The execution of this plan was fixed for the first days of October. The Orleans party at first wished to determine the king to flight, in order to proclaim its leader regent of the kingdom; but when this plan failed, the duke, it is said, was chiefly intent on wreaking his vengeance on the queen, while his partisans were contriving how to remove the king out of the way at the same time. The secret springs of the scheme, and the participation in it of the duke and Mirabeau, alleged by the royal party, have, it is true, never been clearly exposed and thoroughly established. So much is certain, that warnings were given to the court, and that these were confirmed by members of the National Assembly. Some advised the king to remove that assembly, which itself wished to escape the

yoke of the popular party, to Tours; others, and among them the queen, to repair to Metz, and there place himself at the head of such of the troops as still remained faithful to him; and others again, to throw himself entirely into the arms of the nation, and to counteract the plans of the conspirators by gaining the national guard of Paris, and placing himself unconditionally under its protection. Louis chose a middle course—to remain at Versailles, to reinforce his weak life-guard by a regiment on which he could depend, and to gain the national guard of that place. The officers of the latter, in fact, consented that, in order to lighten the duty which was too fatiguing for them, the Flanders regiment should be ordered to Versailles; but the citizens themselves expressed great dissatisfaction: Mirabeau and other party-leaders declaimed vehemently against the measure in the National Assembly, and the municipality of Paris remonstrated. On the 23d of September the regiment nevertheless arrived. The court all at once had recourse to long-neglected arts. The queen presented colours to the national guard, and on the 1st of October the life-guards gave an entertainment, to which the officers of the national guard also were invited, in the theatre belonging to the palace. The heads of the guests were already heated by wine, when the queen, having the dauphin in her arms, entered with the king. They walked round the tables, and were received with vehement demonstrations of joy. Feelings of pity and loyalty awoke with renewed force in the minds of the half-intoxicated spectators, and many an expression which they dropped might appear highly reprehensible to the leaders of the popular party when reported to them. Rising and drawing their swords, all the company drank the health of the king and his family, and as he retired the band played the well-known air, "O,

Richard, O mon roi." The transports excited by these sounds overcame all restraint, and the entertainment terminated with the usual effusions and follies incident to a state of intoxication.

This scene, repeated next morning on a small scale at a breakfast given by the life-guards, furnished the popular leaders with a welcome pretext for the execution of their plan. The indignation of the citizens was excited by an exaggerated account of what had occurred, and especially by the assertion that the national cockade had been trodden under foot; while the populace, rendered furious by distress and famine, was prepared by a seasonable distribution of money for all excesses. A multitude of prostitutes, who from the first had been zealous partizans of the revolution, of fishwomen, and costermongers, were hired to head the masses which were to be sent to Versailles. The leaders of the movement knew that neither the national guards nor the troops of the line would think of employing violence against women, and that therefore, by mixing among them in female apparel, they might accomplish their design with much less danger than in any other manner.

On Sunday, the 4th of October, when Mirabeau was the whole day in Paris, females mounted the tables in the Palais Royal to harangue the people, exhorting them to go on the following day to Versailles to inquire of the king and queen the cause of the famine. At daybreak, on the 5th, all Paris was in motion. Parties of women and of men in women's clothes traversed the streets, obliging all the females whom they met to join them, and even forcing their way into houses to fetch out such as had there concealed themselves. By eleven o'clock the Place de Grève was filled by a furious rabble, incessantly shouting for bread. The national guards were unwilling to use their arms against women. The latter

rushed upon the force stationed at the Hotel de Ville, drove it back by a volley of stones, forced their way into the building, followed by brigands with pikes, who would have set it on fire, had they not been prevented, and plundered it of money and arms. The mob rang the alarm-bell, and the faubourgs were instantly in motion. Maillard, who had been one of the foremost in the attack on the Bastille, proposed, in order to clear the Hotel de Ville of this host of furies, to put himself at their head upon the pretext of leading them to Versailles. Seizing a drum, he drew after him the motley crowd, armed with muskets and cutlasses, broomsticks and bludgeons. The Place de Grève was presently filled again. The companies of the centre—as the French guards incorporated with the national guard were termed—marched up, and called upon the people to arm and avenge the honour of the nation for the insult offered to the tricoloured cockade. The national guard and the armed populace united, and forty thousand voices shouted, "To Versailles!" For several hours Lafayette strove to dissuade them from this purpose; and at last he declared that it was only by command of the commune that he could lead them thither. The commune then determined, in consideration of the emergency and the express wish of the nation, to issue this order; and, in spite of the heavy rain that was falling, the armed masses set out with vehement shouts and acclamations.

On this day the National Assembly at Versailles had met at the usual time. Most of the members suspected as little as the king, who had gone out a-hunting, what was about to happen. The royal answer to the declaration of the rights of man, which had been laid before him for his acceptance, was presented; some temperate objections which it contained produced violent attacks

from Mirabeau and the Orleans faction, in which frequent mention was made of the entertainment in the theatre. It was at length resolved to demand of the king a bare and simple acceptance. About noon arrived the first tidings of the approach of the army of women, and at four o'clock, Maillard and his hordes rushed into the hall of the assembly, crying out for bread. The National Assembly now found itself exposed to various indignities. Mounier, the president, was obliged to repair to the palace at the head of a deputation of twelve women, to desire of the king not only the acceptance of the rights of man, but also measures for putting an end to the famine. Louis, who had been fetched back from the hunting party, signified his acquiescence, and promised to take measures for supplying the capital with provisions: and he even lowered the dignity of the throne so far as to embrace the women composing the deputation. He had forbidden his guards to use any violence. The regiment of Flanders, the principal cause of the tumult, needed not this prohibition. Gained or terrified by the rioters, it refused to make any resistance to the people, and, mingling with the mob, abandoned its posts. The life-guards were thus broken, and several of them wounded by stones and musket-shot. As the national guard of Versailles, which had likewise marched up, looked on, some with pleasure, others with indifference, the most disgusting scenes took place around the palace, and horrid threats were uttered especially against the queen. Some of the king's ministers then exhorted him to save himself by a secret flight. Necker opposed this advice for want of money, and the king himself was apprehensive that, if he followed it, he should throw the crown into the hands of the duke of Orleans. The carriages were actually kept in readiness at the gate of the Orangery, but they were discovered

by the people, who took out the horses to prevent their departure. Others urged the king to put himself at the head of his faithful life-guards, and to repel force by force. Louis, however, who had never drawn a sword in his life, could not bear the idea of spilling the blood of the rioters. To the count d'Estaing, commander of the national guard of Versailles, he thus wrote about seven in the evening: "May God be pleased to restore the public tranquillity! but no attack, no movement, which could induce a belief that I have thoughts of revenging or merely defending myself." But count d'Estaing, though he had acquired celebrity as a naval commander, was now himself a prey to alarm, and incapable of taking any energetic step.

In the evening arrived intelligence of the approach of the Parisians. M. de Chinon, afterwards duke de Richelieu, disguised in rags, had joined the mob, and hastened on before to carry the dreadful tidings to the palace. There no one knew how to act. The king sent to the National Assembly. The court of the palace was filled with the armed rabble: all the scenes of the day were on the point of being repeated, when Lafayette arrived. The appearance of one man restored order, and for some hours all was quiet. A great number of the women broke into the hall of the Assembly, and stretched themselves on the benches: one of them even forced herself into the president's chair, and rang his bell in derision. The discussions were interrupted by cries of "Bread! bread!" and nothing but the authority of Mirabeau could obtain sufficient silence for deliberating on the means of procuring supplies for the capital. At length, at three o'clock, the Assembly broke up, and left the unruly invaders in possession of the hall. The great body of the populace bivouacked on the parade, and along the roads leading to Paris, where, as

the night was cold and rainy, they kindled a number of watch-fires. The national guard of Paris occupied the outer posts, the life-guards the inner.

Lafayette, having assured the king and queen of their perfect security, continued up till morning, sending out patroles and maintaining order. As all appeared quiet, after incessant exertions for twenty hours, he threw himself on a bed to get a little rest, but was roused at five o'clock by the yells of the furious populace. A horde of armed men, among whom were said to have been Orleans and Mirabeau, had penetrated into the palace by a back door, which was left unguarded. The guards on duty before the inner apartments were cut down; and the queen, whose life was the object of this attack, awakened by the cries of the murdered men, had but just time to escape by a secret passage to the king's apartments. The ruffians, rushing into the queen's chamber, pierced the bed which she had just left with daggers and bayonets. They would have penetrated farther but for the resistance of the life-guards who were posted there.

Tumult reigned without. Lafayette, who was presently in the thick of the fray, found several of the life-guards on the point of being slaughtered. While he was extricating them, he ordered his troops to hasten to the palace. The interior was now occupied by the national guards, to whose timely interference the king and his family acknowledged themselves indebted for their lives. Presently, the populace insisted with loud cries that the king should go to Paris. A council was held, and it was decided that the wish of the people should be complied with. Lafayette persuaded the king to shew himself at the balcony, and to intimate his assent to the mob. He was greeted with shouts of "*Vive le roi!*" Lafayette afterwards contrived to draw from the rabble

similar expressions of reconciliation with the queen and the life-guards.

While the mob was awaiting the fulfilment of the intention which he had announced, Louis despatched a message requesting the National Assembly to attend and assist him with its advice. On the motion of Mirabeau, however, it sent only a deputation of thirty-six members to the palace. Among these not one had courage or inclination to exhort the king to energetic measures. He ought, indeed, himself to have ordered the Swiss, lying in the environs, to be sent for, to protect him from any forcible removal. But the fate of Charles I. of England, who was sentenced to die for having taken arms against his people, had filled him with an invincible repugnance to every measure that could have rendered him liable to a similar charge; and he suffered his fears of the dark phantom of the scaffold to scare him into the way that led directly to it. He resolved, in consequence, to comply with the desire of the mob, which began to murmur at the tardy execution of its commands. The Assembly, when apprised of his intended departure, passed a resolution purporting that it was inseparable from the person of the sovereign, and nominated one hundred deputies to accompany him to Paris.

The king did not leave Versailles till one o'clock. He had with him in the carriage the queen, his two children, his sister Elisabeth, his brother the count de Provence, and his wife. The deputation of the National Assembly immediately followed in their carriages. A detachment of ruffians, bearing in triumph the heads of two of the life-guards who had been killed, formed the advanced guard, which had set off two hours earlier. These wretches stopped for a short time at Sèvres, and carried their ferocity to such a pitch, as to force an unfortunate barber to dress the hair of those two bleeding heads. The main

body of the Parisian army immediately followed. Before the king's carriage marched the poissardes, and that whole army of abandoned women, the dregs of their sex, still drunk with fury and with wine. Several of them were astride upon the cannon, boasting of the crimes which they had committed or witnessed; others, nearer to the king's carriage, singing abominable songs, and by their gross gestures applying the insulting allusions in them to the queen. In the transports of their brutal mirth, they stopped passengers, and yelled in their ears, pointing at the same time to the royal carriage: "Courage, my friends! we shall have plenty of bread now that we have got the baker, the baker's wife, and the 'prentice boy." Carts laden with corn and flour, which had come to Versailles, formed a convoy, escorted by grenadiers, and surrounded by women and market-porters armed with pikes, or carrying large poplar boughs. This part of the *cortège* produced at a little distance a most singular effect: it looked like a moving wood, amidst which glistened pike-heads and gun-barrels. Behind his majesty's carriage were some of his faithful guards, partly on foot, partly on horseback, most of them without hats, all disarmed and exhausted with hunger and fatigue. The dragoons, the Flanders regiment, the Cent-Suisses, and the national guards, preceded, accompanied, and followed the file of carriages. As a halt was made at every public-house by the way, the journey took upwards of six hours. On approaching Paris, the train was met by a great concourse, and greeted with savage acclamations. When the king alighted at the Hotel de Ville, there was heard a cry of "*A la lanterne!*" Bailly, in his speech, nevertheless, talked of the happy day which had brought back the monarch and his family into the midst of his faithful Parisians, it was to be hoped for ever; and the king declared that he had come with pleasure, the queen with

confidence, to that good city. The close of that day found them in the palace of the Tuileries: it had been uninhabited for a century, when it was thus suddenly destined to be the residence of the royal family, which took possession of it about midnight.

The removal of the king to the capital, whither he was soon followed by the National Assembly, was considered as so decisive a victory of the popular party, that more than three hundred of those members who had hitherto opposed the violent course of revolutionary principles, as more or less temperate advocates of the old institutions, seceded entirely from the Assembly, and returned to their provinces or emigrated. The most influential of them, Lally-Tollendal, Mounier, and Türkheim, sought to justify themselves to their constituents by a representation of the horrors perpetrated by the populace, and either tacitly approved or commended by the Assembly. "Had I remained," wrote Mounier, "what dreadful torture should I have undergone to hear the reward of virtue conferred on guilt, the atrocities of the 5th and 6th of October praised as heroic actions, a murderous spirit called courage, and the most intolerable slavery freedom!" But never can these well-disposed persons be deemed sufficiently justified by their morbid feelings and exaggerated apprehensions for abandoning their country which had chosen them for its legislators and advisers, and for throwing the ascendency into the hands of unprincipled demagogues by their voluntary dereliction. This step of the reputed defenders of the throne and of moderate measures appears the more inconsistent, when we perceive that even after their departure their adversaries were far from exercising exclusive sway over the Assembly, that reason and moderation showed in very critical moments what power they still possessed, and that it was a precipitate conclusion to give up their cause for lost.

The king issued a proclamation, acquainting the nation with the removal of his residence to Paris, representing it as the result of a voluntary resolution, and boasting of the proofs of loyalty and attachment which his majesty was receiving from the people of the capital. A great change had, indeed, taken place in the public opinion. The dangers and the humiliations of the royal family had excited pity and indignation; the excesses which had been committed were spoken of with horror; proceedings were instituted for the discovery and punishment of the perpetrators; and the duke of Orleans, whom Lafayette positively denounced as the author of the recent disturbances, was glad to escape threatened imprisonment and the public contempt, as well as that which some of his partisans openly expressed for him, by a journey to England, ostensibly on a mission from the king.

Meanwhile, the ruffian bands, having acquired an appetite for murder, were determined to gratify it. On the 20th of October, a baker, named François, who, during the famine, had been particularly active in supplying the people with bread, was seized in his own house on pretext that he was a forestaller, dragged to the Hotel de Ville, and, in spite of the entreaties and efforts of the municipality, hanged from a lamp-post. His head was carried through the streets on a pike. Not only did the wretches compel every baker whom they met to kiss it, but the wife of the victim, who was running to the Hotel de Ville, having fainted in the street at the sight, they lowered the bleeding head, and pressed the lips against her face. They had even the audacity to present their hideous trophy to the deputies who were going to the Assembly. Lafayette, with a party of the national guards, dispersed the mob, seized the ruffian who carried the head, and delivered him up to the Châtelet; he was sentenced to die, and executed on the following day. The

mob murmured at this severity. "What!" cried they, "is this our liberty? Can we not hang whom we please?" On the motion of Lafayette, a decree, called the decree of martial law, was issued, enacting that, in case of disturbance, the municipality should cause a red flag to be hoisted, and every one who did not immediately retire to his home should be punished as a rioter. Robespierre and several other deputies of the popular party, full of kind consideration for the lives of the murderers, vehemently opposed this measure, but could not prevent its adoption, for Lafayette's influence was then at its greatest height. In defiance of this law, however, the people, unwilling to resign the office of executioners, seized two robbers, alleging that the tribunals were too slow in the administration of justice, and hung them on the spot; and a third would have shared the same fate but for the timely interference of Lafayette and his grenadiers. He seized the accusers, judges, and executioners, as well as the delinquent, caused the former to be hanged by virtue of the new law, and delivered up the latter to the ordinary tribunal. By several energetic acts of this kind, the commandant of the national guard restored order and quiet in the capital, and put an end to the arbitrary executions of a bloodthirsty rabble. One of the most dangerous of these revolutionary commotions served to show how powerful was the influence which he had acquired. Five or six hundred men belonging to the paid guard of Paris had mutinied for an increase of pay. They encamped in the Champs Elysés, and their numbers were augmented by other seditious and discontented persons. Lafayette quickly collected his grenadiers, attacked and seized two hundred of the mutineers, and soon brought them back to their duty. A hundred times did he expose his life to the most imminent danger in such scenes; and yet, the morning after a disturbance, in which twenty daggers had been pointed

to his heart, he would declare in the tribune of the National Assembly that "when the people are oppressed, insurrection becomes the most sacred of duties." In consequence of the vigour and vigilance which he exercised for nearly two years afterwards, Paris was spared the recurrence of these murderous scenes.

In the provinces, on the other hand, especially in the south, the horrors of lawless violence, aggravated by the religious animosities kindled between Catholics and Protestants, continued to rage. In several towns, the storming of the Bastille was imitated on a small scale. The castles and state-prisons were attacked, taken, and demolished. It was alleged, in excuse of these proceedings, that the commandants of these fortresses designed to put them into the hands of the emigrant princes and nobles at Turin. The soldiers in general opened the gates to the citizens, to whom they gave up their officers, and then made common cause with the people. M. de Beausset, a staff-officer, commanding in Fort Notre Dame de la Garde at Marseilles, refusing to surrender on the summons of the rioters there, and making preparations for defence, was betrayed by his troops, and given up to the fury of the besiegers. One of them fired at him, while his fellows were conducting the unfortunate officer to prison, and extended him dead on the spot. His body was cut in pieces and brutally maltreated. At Valence, another officer, M. de Voisins, met with the like fate. M. de Saint-Colombe, a magistrate of Viteaux, perished in the same manner. The mayor of Varaise, striving to quell a riot, was cut down by the people, to whom he had long been obnoxious for his oppressive and arbitrary proceedings. Five officers at the salt custom-house were hanged. M. Pascalis, an advocate of the parliament of Provence, had incurred the hatred of the inhabitants of Aix by the vehemence with which he had opposed the dissolution of

the parliament there. The club of the town accused him of corresponding with the emigrants at Nice: he was conducted to prison, where, however, he was not safe from the persecution of his enemies. Next morning the building was besieged; the doors were forced, and Pascalis was dragged out with two other prisoners, apprehended on the preceding day on a charge of betraying the people. The mob hanged all three before the face of the numerous garrison.

This last outrage attracted the attention of the National Assembly. To put a stop to the excesses and butcheries in Aix, it applied to the executive authority to send thither commissioners and troops of the line. When the abbé Maury proposed that in the decree issued on this subject, the Assembly should express its highest indignation at these arbitrary proceedings of the people, Lameth vehemently exclaimed, "The people are attacked: well then, I will defend them. Far be it from me, however, to excuse them, when impelled by oppression and treachery they commit such crimes. But, consider the matter in its true light, and you will perceive that these are only unimportant incidents, petty skirmishes, in which the advantage must always be on the side of the people." These are the days which Madame de Staël calls the fairest of the revolution. All the springs of this revolution continued at work—the ill-disguised aversion of the court, and the incessant anxiety of the opposite party to exhibit that aversion in the most glaring light to the people, in order to fill them with distrust and enmity towards their former rulers. The National Assembly aided these efforts by the Committee of Inquiry. This committee was an inquisitorial tribunal, which it had appointed for the discovery of all designs against the revolution. The most odious espionnage was encouraged, and indeed reduced to an absolute system by the pre-

tended founders of freedom: the foes of despotism, the panegyrists of the destruction of the Bastille, demanded imprisonment and death for unproved expressions. St. Priest, the minister, was to be placed under accusation on a charge of having said, on the 5th of October, to one of the deputation of women sent to the king: "When you had one king, you had bread: now that you have twelve hundred kings, you are starving."

On the other hand, the proceedings against the instigators of the disturbance of the 5th and 6th of October were quashed by the National Assembly. Two thick volumes of evidence, full of the most horrible particulars, formed a striking monument of the spirit of the populace. "The revolution," it was alleged, "cannot sit in judgment on itself. The atrocities in the palace were perpetrated by ruffians who cannot be discovered. The removal of the king to Paris was an act done by the nation, and on which it has reason to congratulate itself, because the vessel of the state has been brought by it into its true direction."

The baron Besenval, whose life Necker had saved on his return to France, but who had been imprisoned ever since, was the first person brought to trial before the court erected for state criminals at the Châtelet. Though he had held back the troops under his command from entering Paris during the storming of the Bastille, and kept them inactive on the following day, the popular party gave him no credit for this forbearance, alleging that it was compulsory, because he had every reason to fear that his men would soon have made common cause with the people against their officers. Besenval defended himself with great coolness and presence of mind: his replies were precise and energetic, and frequently perplexed his accusers. One day, when the advocate who had undertaken his defence was consulting with him in

the prison on the course to be adopted, he urged him to produce an order from the king, in his own hand-writing, as a document which might be most serviceable to him. Besenval immediately tore it in pieces, saying, "God forbid that I should purchase my life by compromising the good king!" This magnanimous conduct produced an impression. The tribunal acquitted him; but Besenval did not long survive his release. He died a few months afterwards, leaving in his Memoirs an acknowledgment that he had not escaped the contagious influence of the depraved court of Louis XV. By the destruction of that paper, on which his life most probably depended, he, however, made some atonement for the errors of his youth.

Paris was filled at this time with rumours of conspiracies for overturning the new order of things and restoring the old system. Public opinion was dissatisfied with the acquittal of Besenval, when, in February, 1790, the marquis de Favras, who had formerly been in Monsieur's guards, and had negociated a loan in his behalf, was apprehended as the author of a plan for murdering the principal authorities of the capital, carrying off the king, who was to be brought back to Paris by an army of foreigners, and effecting a counter-revolution. Two witnesses of the most doubtful character attested that this scheme had been communicated to them by the accused; and, though no facts could be adduced in support of this charge, the court of the Châtelet, intimidated by the shouts of "Favras to the lamp-post!" raised by the ferocious crowd during the trial, sentenced him to be hanged as a traitor, after performing penance at the door of the cathedral. The prisoner, who had defended himself with ability, submitted to his fate with fortitude. After the ceremony of penance, he was taken at his request to the Hotel de Ville for the purpose of making

his will: so that it was dark when he arrived at the place of execution. The assembled crowd had provided themselves with innumerable lanterns and lamps, and the very gallows was illuminated. On ascending the ladder, Favras declared his innocence to the people, and desired them to pray for him; but they jeeringly shouted in reply: "*saute, marquis, saute!*" — "jump, marquis, jump!" and, when the executioner pushed him from the ladder, many voices of delighted spectators cried "*Bis! bis!*" Favras was the first of that countless series of victims who were doomed to be sacrificed, under the appearance of justice, to the demon of the revolution.

The trial of Favras had again excited, in the highest degree, the suspicion of the nation against the court: it was regarded as incorrigible, since it was still hatching conspiracies even in the heart of Paris. Necker advised the king, in order to prevent fresh disturbances, dangerous symptoms of which began already to manifest themselves, to take a decisive step for regaining the public opinion. He proposed that Louis should repair to the National Assembly, declare in a gracious and paternal speech his attachment to the principles of the revolution, and put himself in a manner at its head, that he might have it in his power to moderate its march. This proposal, approved, though with but faint hopes of success by the other ministers, was carried into execution on the 4th of February. The king was received with extraordinary demonstrations of joy both by the deputies and the spectators. A chair was brought for him, and placed on the spot where the president was accustomed to sit. Standing and uncovered, he delivered an address, chiefly of his own composition.

"The alarming state of France at this moment," said he, "brings me into your midst. The progressive dissolution of all the bonds of order and obedience, the

almost total inactivity of sacred justice, the universal discontent arising from manifold privations, the mutual deep-rooted hatred of parties, which is the consequence of long abuses, the critical state of the finances, which involves the circumstances of so many persons in the most painful uncertainty, lastly, the continued ferment and agitation of minds—seem all to concur in rendering the troubles of the kingdom endless, and in undermining the prosperity and happiness of the state for ever." In exhorting the Assembly to devote its attention to the correction of these evils, he took occasion to advert to the horrible outrages committed in the provinces. "You," he continued, "who have at your command so many means for operating upon the public confidence, enlighten the people, whom such pains are taken to mislead, and by whom I am beloved, as I am assured by those who would console me under my sorrows, respecting their true interests. Ah! did they but know how unhappy it makes me whenever I hear of such flagrant violations of the law or of violence exercised upon individuals, they would, perhaps, spare me this painful affliction.—From this day forward," he concluded, "let us all have but one opinion, but one will, but one object—the sincerest attachment to the new constitution, and love of harmony, for the welfare and happiness of France. Of these I will myself be the first to set an example."

Long and loud were the cries of *Vive le roi!* that followed this speech, by which Louis in a manner bound himself to accept whatever the legislature should submit to him by the name of a constitution, and to which the president made a brief reply; and a deputation of the Assembly then escorted the king back to his palace. The deputies begged leave to present their homage to the queen, who said to them, "I share all the feelings and the sentiments of the king, my husband: with body and soul I

concur in the step which love of his people has just induced him to take. Here is my son, to whom I will never cease to speak of the virtues of the best of fathers. I will teach him early to love and to respect the liberty of men, of which I hope he will some day be the firmest support."

It was now proposed in the Assembly to take the civic oath to the new constitution, to which the sovereign had just professed such warm attachment. Accordingly, the whole Assembly swore inviolable fidelity to the nation, to the laws, and to the king, and engaged to defend the new constitution with all its might. The crowded amphitheatre and galleries pronounced this oath in the most solemn manner after the deputies; it was repeated at the Hotel de Ville; it resounded throughout all the 48,000 communes of France.

It was not many hours before the conduct of the king himself afforded just ground to doubt the sincerity of his professions. That same evening, while the capital was illuminated by bonfires, when the deputies went to court, the commoners were received in a different manner from the nobles, and, indeed, with a degree of supercilious hauteur, which could not fail to produce the worst impression. The news of this reception, spreading among the people, excited fresh discontent, and instigated that atrocious faction, which only sought pretexts for rapine, murder, and outrage, to the commission of new excesses.

An event which occurred about the end of March, 1790, tended in no small degree to increase the odium under which the government already laboured. This was the publication of the Red Book, containing a list of the pensions and donations granted by the king. It had been communicated by Necker to a committee of the Assembly, after many entreaties and the most solemn promises of secrecy. A few days afterwards, to the

astonishment of the minister, he saw this list publicly sold in every bookseller's shop. In great indignation he asked the committee how they had dared to publish it without the permission of the Assembly or the king. He was told that, as for the Assembly, they were sure of its approbation; and as for the king, they were not his representatives. To give some idea of the effect of this publication, it is only necessary to remark that, under the short administration of Calonne, the king's two brothers had received from the public treasury, in addition to their regular income, nearly two millions sterling; and that £600,000 had been given to another person, because he was the husband of the queen's favourite, Madame de Polignac.

The most striking circumstance in the new order of things was, that the supreme authority had been taken from the king and divided among twelve hundred nobles, new and old, churchmen, lawyers, physicians, merchants, farmers, and peasants, a very small majority of whom, to the great mortification of the rest, made it their chief business to abolish old institutions, imposts, and laws, as speedily as possible, and to establish others more consonant with the prevailing political theory in their stead. The place where these new sovereigns met was a riding-house near the Tuileries, in the upper part of which, without the addition of any external decorations, galleries were provided for the spectators, and, below, benches for the members, amphitheatrically surrounding the chair of the president and the tables of the secretaries. The deputies of the popular party took their places on the left, and their opponents on the right side. The most violent of the former occupied the uppermost benches on their side, and were therefore designated by the name of "the Mountain," a name which, in the sequel, became so fearfully notorious. On the summit of

this mountain sat Robespierre, deputy of Arras; of repulsive exterior, as a speaker obscured by men of ordinary talents, to say nothing of the many who possessed superior abilities, he was, nevertheless, already in the way to be exalted on the shoulders of the populace into the ruler of France. Without being paid, as for the other deputies, the galleries hailed him as their champion, who, an enthusiast for Rousseau's doctrine of universal liberty and equality, was always recurring to the one idea that the multitude was the sole and rightful legislator, governor, and possessor of the state, and that all the advantage of power, wealth, birth, and talent, was mere pretension. This multitude, which filled the galleries from daybreak and was supplied in the most open manner with refreshments by those who courted its favour, began already to exercise an imperious sway over the Assembly, which had at first used it against the court, and totally disregarded the order issued by the king on the 23rd of June, that spectators should be for ever excluded from its sittings. This rabble again received its cue from the Jacobin club, a political society, which, founded at Versailles by ardent friends of the people, now met in the suppressed Dominican convent of St. Jacob, in the Rue St. Honoré. In its forms, this club copied the National Assembly, with this difference, that its members were not elected, but joined it of their own accord. Here was soon opened a theatre for those who at first had no share in the immediate authority, because they had not been chosen members of the Assembly: they consisted chiefly of inferior actors, obscure authors, briefless advocates, ruined physicians, and others of that stamp, who, like Camille Desmoulins, had commenced their career, during the commotions in Paris, in the Palais Royal and the Place de Grève. Marat, of Neufchatel, formerly physician in the service of count

d'Artois, published a paper with the title of "L'Ami du Peuple," which he printed himself at a portable press, and in which he instigated the people, without circumlocution, to plunder, burn, and murder.

Mirabeau's sentiments, on the other hand, were changed. Playing the part of demagogue, in revenge for affronts which he had received from the court and the nobles, but still adhering in his heart to the principles of his order, convinced of the utter incapacity of the duke of Orleans, and, moreover, far too sharpsighted to wish for a complete mob-government, he readily entered into a negociation with the king, through Montmorin, the minister, and promised to employ his influence for restoring to the crown the prerogatives which had been wrested from it: for, in spite of all his public declarations in favour of the new order of things, Louis considered it as his greatest misfortune. "I wish," he wrote on the 20th of January, 1790, to Mirabeau, who had solicited a private interview with him, "that you may be able to find as easily the means of remedying the mischief which has been done, as I shall be anxious to second them when found." Though Mirabeau received large sums, which he much needed on account of his debts and his expensive mode of living, as the price of his support, there is no reason to doubt that he was sincere: but, his strength consisting in his popularity, he was obliged to use great caution, and frequently to speak contrary to the wishes of the court, lest he should appear to be a turncoat and apostate. The change in his sentiments was, nevertheless, remarked, and the motion that the ministers should have seats as deliberative members in the Assembly was not only negatived, but a law was soon enacted that no member should hold the appointment of minister; a measure intended to bar his way to the ministry, upon which he had an eye. But he was

even prevented by the court itself from doing what he otherwise might have done for it; for he could no more overcome the king's distrust of his integrity than Necker's jealousy of his superior talents. As he was far from participating in the peculiar views of the court-party, which aimed at nothing less than the unconditional restoration of the former system, but had in view a constitution modelled after the English, in which the throne and the national liberty should be alike secured, his proposals were regarded by the queen as snares into which he was striving to entice the king, in order to effect his utter ruin.

The further the National Assembly proceeded in the destruction of the existing institutions, the more the king's temper became soured. He had formed the resolution to signify his acceptance of all their decrees without delay or objection, that, on the one hand, he might appear to act, not of his own free will, but from compulsion, and, on the other, to avoid all occasion for discontent. This unnatural compliance caused many to doubt his sincerity, and lowered him in the estimation even of those who did believe it. The very people who would have armed tumultuously against the employment of the royal veto began by degrees to consider the assenter to the decrees submitted to him as a useless burden to the state. The whole situation was contradictory; and impartial posterity will not need the evidence contained in the correspondence of Louis XVI., that the laws which he publicly confirmed he already at that time considered and treated in private as the abortions of a perverse and rebellious spirit. Much as it may pity and excuse the unfortunate monarch, it cannot but perceive in this double-dealing a main cause of the disastrous turn which his fortune took when it was discovered. So early as 1790, perhaps, perfect sincerity

might have removed him from the semblance of a throne; but his lot would no doubt have been far less severe than that which the ill-judged dissimulation practised for a year and a half was destined to bring upon him.

CHAPTER X.

PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION.

The National Assembly, on its removal to Paris, resumed the task which it had undertaken of framing a new constitution for the kingdom. In the progress of this work, it appeared desirable that there should be a new division of the country, in order to break down those provincial distinctions which still subsisted, and to introduce the same laws and the same spirit into all parts of France. Adopting a plan presented by the abbé Sieyes, the Assembly decreed, on the 9th of January, 1790, the division of the kingdom into eighty-three departments, named after mountains, rivers, coasts, and other natural objects; these were subdivided into districts, and the districts into cantons, each of the latter comprehending four or five communes or parishes. The administration of the department, of the district, and of the communes, was assigned to a deliberative council and an executive council, the members of both being elective. Every man, having attained the age of twenty-five years, and paying taxes to the amount of one silver marc, had a right to vote either for members of the administrations, or of the National Assembly. A criminal tribunal was instituted for each department, a civil court for each district, and a court of reference for each canton. The appointment of the judges was for three years; after which its renewal depended on the votes of

the electors. The administration of towns and cities was assigned to a general council and a municipality, the number of whose members was proportioned to the population. The municipal officers, or magistrates, were nominated by the people, and were alone authorized to require the aid of the armed force.

The consequences of this measure were most important. It placed the whole force of the kingdom at the disposal of the people. By the nomination of the municipality, they had the government of the towns; by the command of the armed force, the control of the military; by the elections in the departments, the appointment of deputies to the Assembly, of the judges, of the bishops, and of the officers of the national guard; by the elections in the cantons, the nomination of magistrates and local representatives. "Thus," as Alison pertinently remarks, "every thing flowed from the people, either directly or through a double election; and the qualification for voting was so low as practically to extend to every able-bodied man. Forty-eight thousand communes, or municipalities, were thus instituted in France, and exercised the rights of sovereignty, scarcely any appointment being left at the disposal of the crown. With a constitution so completely democratic," continues the writer just mentioned, "it is not surprising that, during the subsequent changes of the revolution, the popular party should have acquired so irresistible a power; and that, in almost every part of France, the persons in authority should be found supporting the multitude from whom that authority was derived."

Another measure, not less bold, and nearly as important in its results, was that adopted at the suggestion of Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, for declaring the estates of the church to be the property of the nation, and by their sale supplying the public exigencies. The revenue

had fallen off to such a degree that, during the last three years, the public debt had been increased from 120 to 170 millions sterling. The revenues of the church, which possessed nearly one half of the lands in the kingdom, was too tempting a bait to be resisted. In spite of the opposition of the abbé Maury, Sieyes, and the clergy in general, it was decreed, on the 2d of December, by a great majority, that all ecclesiastical property should be placed at the disposal of the nation, and that the clergy should thenceforward be paid out of the public exchequer. The annual income of the archbishop of Paris was fixed at 50,000 francs, or £2000; that of the superior bishops at £1000, of the inferior at £750, and of the lowest at £500. The *curés*, or rectors, of the larger parishes were to be paid about £90, of the middle-sized £60, and of the smallest £50. All monastic establishments were at the same time dissolved, their property was withdrawn, and pensions were granted in its stead.

The necessities of the state required the almost immediate sale of a portion of this property, to the value of sixteen millions sterling. It was accordingly decreed by the Assembly. The municipalities of Paris, and of the principal cities, became the purchasers in the first instance; intending to dispose of the property, in lots, to individuals; and their promissory notes were given in payment to public creditors. As there were no means for discharging these when they became due, recourse was had to government bills, or *assignats*, possessing a legal circulation and passing for money throughout the whole kingdom; and a decree of the Assembly authorised the government to issue such assignats to the amount of 170 million francs, or about 7 million sterling, on the security of domains of the crown and ecclesiastical property of the value of 400 million francs. The clergy

offered to furnish the state with that sum, on condition that their property should be restored to them; but this proposal was rejected, as its acceptance might have tended to throw doubt on the actual confiscation of their estates. Defeated in this last effort, the clergy began to manifest the most decided hostility to the Revolution, to excite public opinion against it, and to condemn the sale of church property as the height of sacrilege.

The internal organisation of the Church next claimed the attention of the Assembly. It was decided that the bishoprics should be reduced to the same number as the departments; that the bishops and ministers should be chosen by the same electors as the deputies to the Assembly; and that the chapters should be suppressed, and the regular orders replaced by parochial clergy.

The decrees of the National Assembly, ordaining the sale of church property, the abolition of tithes, and the suppression of convents, but above all that decree in which the Assembly had abstained from declaring the Catholic religion to be the religion of the State, filled the papists of the southern provinces with alarm and rage; while they gratified the Protestants, and rendered them well-disposed towards the Revolution. Public and private meetings were held at Toulouse, Nimes, Montpellier, and Perpignan, to concert means of inducing the Assembly to repeal those enactments. The royalists, the authors of these movements, hoped to be supported in those cities by a great number of the inhabitants, and especially by the women. The fraternities of penitents, black, brown, and white, red, yellow, and gray, almost all of which were founded in the time of the League, poured forth daily complaints on the subject in their public prayers. In several companies of the national guard, a white cross had been substituted, as a distinction, to the new cockade. These companies, some composed of Pro-

testants, others of Catholics, soon resembled adverse corps of two hostile armies. It now became a question on which side the troops stationed in Languedoc and Guyenne would declare themselves; but this point was not long doubtful. In spite of the opposition of the officers, the soldiers of the line were all attached to the cause of the revolution, which promised them protection from arbitrary and degrading punishments and promotion to the highest ranks. These soon caused the victory to incline to the party of the Protestants and of those Catholics who sided with them, before any serious collision could take place. At Toulouse, Castres, Pau, Perpignan, Montpellier, they gained the ascendency without opposition: and it was only at Nimes and Montauban that any disturbances occurred. In the latter town the women armed themselves with spits, pikes, and swords; they took under their protection a Franciscan convent, the monks of which were their dearly beloved father-confessors, and formally refused to suffer an inventory to be taken of the possessions of the pious monks. Some Catholic companies seconded them in this opposition. The Protestants, conceiving themselves to be threatened, called in the dragoons to their support, and took possession of the hotel de ville, to which the populace, wholly devoted to the priests, immediately laid siege. A firing commenced, it is not known from which party; and this was the signal for a general attack of the populace, in which five dragoons were killed and eight wounded: the rest of those troops were obliged to surrender, and the mob took a great number of prisoners. The municipality ordered all Protestants to be disarmed. The white cockade was again mounted all over the town, and for some days Montauban seemed to be the seat and focus of a counter-revolution. Those Catholics who were not adverse to the revolution soon bestirred themselves.

Fifteen hundred of the national guard of Bordeaux marched with cannon for Montauban, and this little army was joined by 400 men of the Languedoc regiment, but who were accompanied by no more than two of their officers. General Dumas, the king's commissioner, exerted himself with success to prevent civil war: while treating with the inhabitants of Montauban, he sent back the national guard to Bordeaux, after he had effected the release of the captive protestants. Thus was tranquillity restored in that town.

At Nimes the disturbances assumed a still more violent character. M. de Marguerite, who sat on the right side in the National Assembly, had just been chosen mayor of that city through the preponderating influence of the Catholics. He observed with pleasure the progress which his party was making, but still he wished the public peace to be preserved. One day, a soldier of the Guyenne legion tore a white cockade from the hat of a Catholic. This brought up several companies of the national guard, who were joined by a great part of the populace. In a fray, which lasted for two hours, several of both parties were wounded but not dangerously. The mayor ordered the martial law to be read, and forbade the wearing of white cockades. The tumult was quelled, but very soon afterwards Marguerite was accused before the National Assembly. He repaired to Paris to defend himself and to convince the Assembly of his innocence. The rioters availed themselves of his absence to renew the disturbances with greater violence than ever. Frays, more or less furious, took place every day. The Catholic legions, supported by the populace, were not afraid to meet a regiment of the line, which had been joined by the Protestant national guards. For some time the Catholics had the advantage; but, on the 15th of June, at sunrise, being attacked on several points at once, they

were unable to assemble their whole force. They sought refuge in the houses, where they obstinately defended themselves. At length, driven from post to post, they fled to a tower, where they relinquished all hope of a successful resistance when they found that artillery was brought up to the attack. The soldiers, intoxicated with their victory, rushed into the tower, and cut in pieces more than eighty, among whom were several priests, reproaching the latter, while they despatched them, with their fanaticism. From the commencement of the revolution so many victims had not been sacrificed at once as on this occasion. The National Assembly found nothing to censure in the conduct of the victors; on the contrary, the vanquished were brought to trial and declared to have forfeited their civic rights.

In the course of a twelvemonth the decrees of the Assembly had overthrown the institutions which had subsisted for a thousand years in France, and cleared the ground for the erection of a structure according with the principles of the new state policy. The parliaments, which had so often defied the royal authority, and which by their opposition had even called the National Assembly into existence, were next attacked. By a decree of the Assembly, they were first suspended, and afterwards suppressed, without a hand being raised in their defence. In 1788 two regiments, sent by Brienne, to fetch the refractory counsellor d'Espréménil from the hall of the parliament, had not been able to execute the commission. The same man, as a member of the National Assembly, was now an advocate for the absolute authority of the king; but so completely were things changed, so decidedly was the opinion of the nation in favour of the measures of the Assembly, and such was the terror excited by the irresistible power which it had thus acquired, that the municipality of Paris, charged with the execu-

cution of the decree against the parliaments, found in its meeting-hall the silence of death and not a creature to deliver up the keys of the archives or the repositories of its official papers.*

The suspension of the parliaments had been speedily followed, as we have seen by the spoliation of the clergy, and the privileges yet left to the nobles were destined to be the next sacrifice. On the 19th of June, a Prussian baron, whose real name was Klotz, but better known by the assumed appellation of Anacharsis Cloots, who was striving hard to bring himself into public notice, introduced to the Assembly a number of persons, habited in the dresses of all the various nations in the world. In a formal harangue, he told the president that he was come as the orator of the human race, at the head of the representatives of all nations, to congratulate the Assembly on the formation of the new constitution and on the annihilation of all prejudices. Having been answered by the president with great solemnity, he retired with his motley troop. Alexandre Lameth then moved that the figures of different nations represented in chains at the foot of the statue of Louis XIV. should be destroyed as an insult to mankind. A lawyer next moved the abolition of all hereditary titles. Members of the nobility — a Lameth, a Lafayette, a Noailles, a Montmorency — vied with each other in supporting and extending the motion, probably with the intention of displaying in the clearest light their love of liberty, which had been occasionally questioned by the furious revolutionists. A decree was passed abolishing all names derived from estates, all titles of nobility, armorial bearings, and servants' liveries. Necker, a plebeian, a republican, born and bred in a democracy, advised the king in the council

* The suspension of the parliaments took place on the 3rd of November, 1789, and their total suppression on the 3rd of September, 1790.

of state not to confirm this decree immediately, but to send it back to the Assembly with such objections as cool judgment should suggest, and with the intimation that, if the Assembly persisted in its adoption, he would give his approbation, as he was desirous of remaining on good terms with it. Any remonstrance would no doubt have been useless, and Louis chose rather to give his unqualified confirmation. Necker was violently attacked on account of this opinion, which was no secret. He replied by publishing a vindication, which concluded with warning the Assembly not to attempt, by suppressing all the signs of the distinctions of rank, to deceive the people as to the real meaning of the word equality, which in any already existing state of society could never signify equality of rank or property. By this law party-spirit was more violently inflamed than by any previous enactment. The wounded pride of those who attached high value to their honorary distinctions attributed the loss of them entirely to the envy and jealousy of the plebeians, and took various ways of expressing doubts of the stability of the new measure.

In addressing the king, the expressions sire and majesty were still retained, but his former title of king of France and Navarre was changed to that of king of the French, because he was not master of the country, but first officer of the people; and, what was more important, the domains of the crown were taken out of his hands, and in their stead a civil list of twenty-five millions of livres, or one million sterling, was granted. In fixing its amount, the Assembly had an eye to England, and acted upon the impression that the king of the French ought not to be worse provided for than the king of Great Britain.

A spirit of innovation and antipathy to every thing that had originated in past times were the prominent

characteristics of a revolution, in which was embodied, as it were, the favourite doctrine of the age, that the human mind, in consequence of its advance in enlightenment and knowledge, was capable of producing an absolutely perfect creation, in place of the former imperfect system. Fashion, which exercises unbounded sway over the French national character, contributed to propagate this notion with such effect, as even to blind them to their own interests. Thus, in 1788, the citizens of Nantes and Rennes warmly espoused the cause of the parliaments which advocated the exemption of the nobles from taxation; thus, too, in the following year, the town of Versailles, whose prosperity depended entirely on the king, the princes, and the grandees, manifested particular enmity to the court, and contributed not a little to its forcible removal to Paris, but afterwards deplored it as the greatest of misfortunes. External means served also to fan the flame of enthusiasm, and to preserve it from the danger of dying away. These were the clubs, popular societies, after the model of the energetic Jacobin club in Paris, which sprung up all over the kingdom, and afforded occasion for persons of all classes and of both sexes to inflame their own minds and those of others by delivering and listening to political harangues. The Jacobin club of Paris was the centre of these numerous societies. Though attended at first by men of moderate sentiments, it happened here, as elsewhere, that the daring, the violent, and the reckless, gained the ascendency over the timid, the temperate, and the cautious, and, after their secession, were the sole orators in those assemblies.

At this time, however, the better elements were nowhere wholly suppressed, and the very adversaries of the new order of things were led to conceive fresh hopes by the festival held on the 14th of July, 1790, in all the towns of France, to celebrate the anniversary of the taking

of the Bastille. The Champ de Mars was the place fixed upon for this solemnity. In the centre of it was erected an altar in the antique style, and around it was thrown up an amphitheatre, capable of containing four hundred thousand spectators. Twelve thousand workmen were employed in this operation; but the people of Paris, fearing that the plan might not be completed in time, assisted in the labour. Persons of all ranks and classes, nobles, clergy, women, and even delicate ladies, with the eagerness for novelty peculiar to the nation, united their efforts, and treated each other like members of one great family. The ardently expected day of the federation, as it was called, at length arrived. At seven in the morning the procession set out. It consisted of federalists, deputed for the occasion by the eighty-three departments, deputations from the troops in France wherever quartered, the Parisian national guard, the electors of the city of Paris, the representatives of the communes, the administrators of the municipality, the members of the National Assembly, accompanied by an infinite multitude of drums, trumpets, and musical instruments. A heavy rain was meanwhile falling. The endless train, setting out from the site of the Bastille, crossed the Seine by a bridge of boats constructed for the purpose, and entered the Champ de Mars. A magnificent amphitheatre had been erected at the farther extremity for the king, his family, the foreign ambassadors, and the members of the National Assembly. The lateral seats were occupied by spectators. In the intermediate space, sixty thousand armed federalists performed their evolutions, till the whole of them should have arrived. On the steps of the altar in the centre, elevated upon a base twenty-five feet high, stood three hundred priests in white surplices and tricoloured scarfs. At length, the whole of the procession having entered, Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, commenced the mass. He blessed the eighty-three banners of the

departments. Te Deum was sung, accompanied by twelve hundred musicians. Lafayette, at the head of the staff of the national guard of Paris and of the deputies of the army and navy, went up to the altar, and swore in the name of the troops and the federalists to be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king. The president of the Assembly rising from his chair, on the right of the king's, repeated the same oath. Louis then rose, and in a loud voice said :—"I, king of the French, swear to employ the power delegated to me by the constitutional act of the state, in maintaining the constitution decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by me." The queen, taking the dauphin in her arms, and holding him up to the people, said :—"Here is my son ; he joins, as well as myself, in those sentiments." At that moment, when half a million of men, extending their hands, repeated after Louis the words, "I swear it," and the thunder of the cannon rolled without drowning the shouts of "Long live the king and the queen!"—at that moment, not merely the tutelary spirit of the country, but the genius of humanity seemed himself to have descended to earth. The king embraced his consort and his children, while the whole Assembly, sitting or standing, threw themselves into each other's arms, without regard to rank, condition, or previous acquaintance, like brothers, sisters, friends, and vowed to sacrifice their lives for the constitution, for liberty, and for their country. National guards and soldiers laid aside their arms to embrace without obstruction. The imposing ceremony over, the procession returned ; and the people gave themselves up to rejoicings, which lasted for three successive days.

Nevertheless, at the very time when Louis was swearing to maintain the constitution, and in a proclamation declaring those to be his most dangerous enemies who circulated doubts of the sincerity of his sentiments, infa-

tuated friends were besetting him with plans for a counter-revolution; and, though he rejected them from fear or the conviction of their impracticability, yet he was indiscreet enough to express his acknowledgments to their authors, not unmixed with censures of the new order of things. The most unfortunate step, however, that he took was, when, to ease his conscience, he secretly applied to the Pope, and solicited his decision concerning those decrees of the National Assembly, which, by granting freedom of religious belief and worship, sequestrating the property of the church, dissolving monastic vows, and subjecting the clergy to the civil legislation, could not fail to produce a great change in the whole French church establishment. He did this with an expression of abhorrence for the work of darkness and impiety; he declared it to be his determination not to approve any of these proceedings without the papal permission; and professed his entire dependence on the superior wisdom of the head of the church. And yet he had already confirmed most of those decrees; and yet, only twelve days after despatching that letter, he had bound himself unconditionally by the oath of the federation to maintain the constitution, of which those decrees formed an essential part. It would appear, therefore, that, considering himself as in a state of coercion, he recognised neither that confirmation nor this oath as truly binding, and that he reckoned upon finding a stay in the refused assent of the Pope. No dispassionate person will condemn the king's religious scruples; but, if he had only declared publicly that he could not consider the reform of the church as legitimate, without the participation of its supreme head, and that for conscience sake he could not confirm it, this would have been an excuse worthy of his character, and could never have led to those calamities into which he was plunged by his culpable double-dealing.

When his holiness interfered, and, by his prohibition addressed to the French clergy, caused the schism which divided them into the sworn and the nonjuring priests, with all the ruinous consequences of such a schism, it was the king who instigated the Pope to this unwise step. The National Assembly, it is true, had done its best to affront and offend the pontiff: in particular, the way in which it had favoured a sedition that had broken out at Avignon, and taken possession, contrary to the law of nations, of that papal district, could not but be highly displeasing to its legitimate owner. Still he ought not to have forgotten the welfare of the church in his displeasure concerning temporal matters. But for this prohibition, the clergy, like the rest of the nation, would have taken the oath of fidelity to the law and the king; the flame of mutual hatred would not have been kept up by any distinguishing sign, and the French church would not have been so violently shaken as it was by the sudden removal of almost all its bishops and of a great part of its *curés;* for only three bishops, among whom were Brienne, archbishop of Sens, formerly prime minister, and Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, took the oath, and retained their sees. The vacancies were filled by men elected by the predominant party—an exchange by which nothing could be gained, as the prevailing spirit was merely temporal and inimical to religion, and most of the new incumbents were actuated solely by earthly motives.

Louis was more and more confirmed, as well by the nature of his situation as by the influence of the clergy and of the courtiers around him, in the unhappy delusion that the whole revolution was but a fever which would subside, a mere paroxysm of the mania for innovation that must be allowed to pass off, and then the former system would be re-established as a matter of course. "The French people," he observed in writing

to the pope, "always delighted with novelty, very soon forgets that which has just been an object of its enthusiasm; an idol that it sets up is often thrown down on the very same day." He was not aware that this innovation, in contradiction to the stagnation or corruption that previously existed, was founded on a right and a truth, which, once loudly expressed and acknowledged, rendered an unconditional return to the former state of things impossible. The more, therefore, Louis flattered himself with hopes of this return, the more unfit he became for the situation in which he was placed, that of constitutional king of France. A man of stronger mind would not have suffered this character to be forced upon him, or would have given by some bold stroke a different turn to the wheel of fortune; a really honest man, convinced that he could not perform it, would have voluntarily resigned it: the unfortunate middle course chosen by Louis, to be publicly for and privately against the constitution, could not but lead to the most mischievous results.

The assertion of the king that the French people were accustomed to overthrow the idols which had just been the objects of its warmest enthusiasm, was verified before the end of the year 1790, by Necker's retirement from office. After his vanity had been severely punished by the insignificance into which he had fallen since the triumph of his return, his opposition to Mirabeau's proposal for a new issue of assignats to the amount of several thousand millions of livres rendered his before unpleasant situation rather dangerous. The decided aversion of Louis to this once almost deified adviser, and the powerful influence of the court circle, rendered it more and more impossible for him to act with advantage to the king. Convinced that he was not fit for the situation, he resolved to relinquish it, and communicated his

intention to the National Assembly in a letter in which he assigned the "painful anxiety of his not less virtuous than beloved wife" as his motive, and mentioned that he left behind in the public exchequer a private fortune of two millions and a half, as a pledge for his administration, which had placed thousands of millions under his management. On the reading of this letter, great part of the Assembly burst into loud laughter. His request to be permitted to leave the country with the sum of four hundred thousand livres was granted with demonstrations of perfect indifference, and on the 8th of September he set out privately from Paris.

As the people, instigated by the Jacobins, now reputed him to be an enemy to liberty, he found himself exposed to insult and ill treatment on the same route where, thirteen months before, he had been escorted as the saviour of France from village to village and from town to town. At Arcis sur Aube he was even seized and detained till the National Assembly had granted him fresh permission to prosecute his journey. The populace at Vesoul, where in the preceding year the most flattering homage had been paid him, nevertheless assembled riotously, and would have hanged him; and it was only through the interference of the municipality that he was enabled to reach the frontiers of Switzerland. There he lived, at his seat at Coppet, till his decease in 1804, and consequently he had abundant time to make remarks on that revolution which he occasioned, but which he was not capable of directing. These he gave to the public in various works. His daughter, the celebrated Madame de Staël, has in vain attempted to justify him in every point of view.

While in Paris, the National Assembly was passing a prodigious number of new laws, anarchy prevailed alike before its face and in every part of France. Disorders of

all kinds were every where committed with impunity, and the doctrine of the legitimacy of resistance to oppression, which was placed among the Rights of Man at the head of the constitution, was reduced to practice, and more especially by those who had to pay taxes, to the great annoyance of the legislators. This lawless spirit pervaded all ranks. Soldiers refused obedience to their officers; every municipality reigned with unlimited sway in its own district; and fierce demagogues, released by the liberty of the press from all restraint, exhorted the people to recover by force the inalienable rights of equality, of which they had been deprived by the rich and the great. It was but rarely that the National Assembly attempted to interfere or to check the growing disorders. At Nancy, a formal mutiny of three regiments in garrison there, on account of arrears of pay, produced a decree ordering Bouillé, governor of Lorraine, to reduce the insurgents by force. Collecting a body of regulars and national guards, he hastened to Nancy, and suddenly fell upon the mutineers, many of whom were killed and some hundred made prisoners. Public opinion in Paris condemned this procedure, and the Assembly soon afterwards reversed its decree against the insurgents.

This general confusion arose partly from the increasing force of the democratic spirit that was undermining the foundations of society, partly from the wilful inactivity of the executive power, as the king and his ministers were now termed, which beheld these disorders with secret pleasure, or according to the expression of a deputy of the left side, which feigned death, hoping that the excess of the disease would produce its cure. Under the influence of this mischievous system, Louis gradually lost that popularity which he had regained during the early part of his residence in Paris. The National Assembly arrogated to itself the whole internal administra-

tion; and the constitutional decrees which it passed, relative to the king and his family, lowered him even in name to a mere public functionary, whose degrading office it was to set the seal to its orders. In these decrees, the appellations of prince and heir to the throne were most cautiously avoided, and relative of the king, and successor, employed in their stead. The king, as first functionary of the state, was required not to remove further than twenty-four leagues from the Assembly; but, in case he should quit the kingdom and not return when invited to do so, he was to be considered as having abdicated the crown.

Louis placed his hopes of deliverance from this disagreeable position on Mirabeau, who had become more sincere in his attachment to the court, since the popular party, whose head and leader he was reputed, had been outdone by a second party of still more violent demagogues. The spokesmen of this party, which strove to reduce to practice the idea of the sovereignty of the people, were, in the National Assembly, Robespierre; and, in the Jacobin club, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Marat, and some others of less note. Mirabeau, with his superior energies, might probably have found means to curb these men of middling talents, and to direct the revolution into another course, but it was not decreed by Providence that he should remedy the evil which had been done. A life of dissipation and excessive exertion had impaired his health, when, towards the end of March, 1791, he was attacked by a disease which the physicians soon declared to be mortal. Hearing the report of the guns fired on occasion of some public event, he exclaimed—"They announce the obsequies of Achilles;" and, after lying a few minutes as if dozing, he added—"I take the tears of the monarchy along with me to the grave. The factious will now tear it in pieces

and divide the fragments among them." He expired on the 2d of April, 1791. His death was felt as a public calamity; all Paris attended his funeral; and his body was deposited in the church of St. Genevieve, the name of which had been changed to the Pantheon, and which was thenceforward appropriated to the reception of the remains of eminent men.

After the disappointment of the hopes placed upon Mirabeau, Louis lent a more willing ear to the plan projected by those about him of extricating himself by flight from his disagreeable position. Bouillé, who was known to be favourably disposed to the king, had proved himself, in quelling the late mutiny at Nancy, to be a resolute man, and commanded several German regiments of unimpeachable loyalty in the French service, was selected to assist in its execution. In several German states bordering on France, especially in the territory of the elector of Treves, who was the king's maternal uncle, the emigrant princes Artois and Condé had not only found an asylum, but also obtained permission to raise and equip an army of emigrants, who had quitted their country from dissatisfaction with the new order of things, and hoped to effect by force the re-establishment of the former system. Coblenz was the head-quarters of this force. The extreme depravation of the predominant elements, composed of the flower of the old court nobility, cannot be more clearly proved than by the fact that the nobles of the provinces, who, out of zeal for the cause of the monarchy had joined these its self-constituted champions, made bitter complaints to the king himself of the ill-treatment which they had to endure from the arrogance of the latter, and that Louis was obliged to apply to his brother in behalf of those who had not taken up arms on their own account; while they by whom they were despised had fled only to en-

sure their personal safety. These emigrants, who talked incessantly of the degradation of the throne and their plans for restoring it to its former splendour, who, perfectly safe themselves, condemned the king for giving way to the rebels who detained him a prisoner, had contributed much to increase the difficulties of his position in regard to the nation. He had, as it appears from the letter to his brother to which reference has just been made, heartily disapproved the whole measure from the first; and now he was called upon to take part in it himself. According to the wish of several of those about him, he was to quit the kingdom for the purpose of being brought back into it either by the emigrant nobles or by the powers which had already expressed warm sympathy in his misfortune and strong aversion to the principles of modern France.

The extreme irresolution of the king long opposed the execution of so hazardous a scheme, and it was not till the early part of the summer of 1791, that fresh circumstances induced him to overcome his natural dislike of flight. He had confirmed the decrees relative to the civil constitution of the clergy and the oath required of its members; but the bull issued by the Pope, at his own instigation, and which forbade that constitution and that oath, decided him to refuse the religious services of ecclesiastics who had submitted to them. He, therefore, dismissed his confessor, the minister of St. Eustache, who had taken the oath, and appointed the abbé Lenfant, an ex-jesuit, in his stead. Several bishops, who had lost their sees for refusing to comply with the decrees, were graciously received at the Tuileries; and divine worship was performed in the royal chapel only by nonjuring, or, as they were commonly called, *refractory* priests. There was nothing unlawful in this, as the constitution granted liberty of conscience to every citizen, and consequently

the king must have a right to have divine service performed in his dwelling in any way he pleased: the decree respecting the clergy confirmed by him could not reasonably be considered in any other light than the laws approved by Catholic princes for regulating the Protestant church, or of Protestant princes for the Catholic church, and to which it is not to be supposed that the approvers must themselves submit. But the self-styled national freedom was as rigid, if not more so, in its demands as the despotism of kings, which is often so bitterly complained of; and the people, excited by the clubs, required that, as the constitutional priests cost the state one hundred and sixty million livres per annum, the king should have mass performed by one of them.

On the 17th of April, which was Easter Sunday, when the royal family were going to chapel, the national guards on duty in the interior of the palace refused to present arms for one who acted contrary to the law. Lafayette had great difficulty to persuade them to obedience; but one of the grenadiers persisted in his refusal, and quitted his post contrary to the order of the commandant. In the afternoon the ferment among the people was still greater. It was known that the king intended to go to St. Cloud to spend the Easter week there, and not a few looked upon this excursion as a pretext for flight and counter-revolution. Travelling carriages, which did not seem likely to be used for so short a distance, had been seen packed in the king's stables; and people from the country reported that they had met relays of horses on the road to Compiegne. The Jacobins already insisted that the king ought to be got rid of; that he was a useless person, a cormorant, who consumed thirty millions a year, and did nothing for it. Others proposed to carry him to his parish church and force him to take the sacrament there. The Cordeliers, a new club, in which the most violent of the Jacobins had enrolled themselves members, caused a

resolution to be posted, requiring that the chief functionary of the state and the first subject of the law should be placed under accusation as a refractory opposer of the constitutional laws, and as a promoter of disobedience and sedition. A popular publication, profusely distributed, accused the king in the strongest terms of an intention to betake himself to the Austrians, and threatened him with the loss of his crown as soon as he should drop the mask of a protector of liberty. He, nevertheless, persevered in his purpose of going to St. Cloud; but, on the following day, the 18th of April, when about to start, the carriage in which the king was seated with his family was surrounded by the populace, who, amidst reproaches and abuse, prevented its departure. Lafayette was sent for; he first ordered the company of the national guard which was on duty to clear the way for the carriage; but entreaties and threats proved equally unavailing. After this farce had been acted for two hours, the king alighted from the carriage and went back into the palace. Lafayette was furious, resigned his post of commandant, and did duty as a private. In the uniform of the latter he went to an evening party, at which Dugald Stewart was present. "How is this, general!" exclaimed some of the guests: "we thought that you were commander of the national guard." "Why," replied Lafayette, "I was tired of obeying, and so I have gone into the ranks."

The king repaired on the following day to the National Assembly, complained of the treatment he had experienced, which gave the adversaries of the revolution a pretext for doubting his freedom, and required its assistance to enable him to take the intended excursion. The president replied only in lamentations and warnings against the party which strove to place itself between the people and the throne; and next day a deputation

from the sections of Paris presented to the king a paper, reproaching him in the bitterest terms with the influence of this party. "People see with regret," it was there said, among other things, "that you favour the refractory, that almost all your servants are enemies of the constitution: they fear that this too obvious preference indicates the real sentiments of your heart." Those sentiments were certainly guessed, but they sprung quite as much from the nature of the new constitution as from Louis himself and those about him. An elective chief magistrate would scarcely have retained his seat on what people were pleased to call a throne; how then could he, who had once been king, and who, as a descendant of Louis XIV., must have cherished such different recollections, accustom himself to it!

The storm was succeeded by a calm. Lafayette, who, at the urgent solicitations of the whole national guard, had resumed the chief command, appeared at the head of the deputies of its battalions, to beg his pardon, in its name, for what had happened: the companies of the centre, which had been particularly refractory, were disbanded, and the whole body took a new oath of obedience. The National Assembly, however, passed two laws, which showed that the recent occurrence had led to reflections, and given a preponderance to the friends of order. On the motion of Talleyrand, it was determined that all sects and all religions, without distinction, should be allowed to perform divine worship in their own way, and that the refusal of the oath could not prevent any priest from performing mass in a parish church. The king himself, said the speaker, might change his religion without acting contrary to the constitution. If the state paid for the performance of a religious worship, it was merely because that form still had the greatest number of adherents. The whole dispute between jurors and nonjurors might

thus have been settled at once; but, singularly enough, this proposition was opposed by the very persons who would have escaped persecution through its means. An ecclesiastic on the right side complained that the churches might now be turned into mosques and pagodas, so blinded was the understanding upon the simplest matters by the hierarchical spirit; and, in opposition to a religious zeal, which claimed an exclusive authority for its own church, was generated in the end an equally fanatic hatred of religion directed against the church. Another decree of the National Assembly, which declared the right of presenting petitions and memorials as not transferable, and granted it only to single individuals, was aimed at the popular societies, and designed to wrest from their hands the legislative power, which, under cover of that right, they had arrogated to themselves.

On the part of the court also steps were taken calculated to win the entire confidence of the nation. The nonjuring priests of the royal chapel were dismissed; several persons obnoxious to the people were removed from the court: and Montmorin, the minister, addressed a printed circular to the French ambassadors, containing a most unqualified panegyric on the revolution. "What is called the revolution," it was there said, "is nothing but the abolition of a multitude of abuses which had been multiplying for centuries, through the ignorance of the people, and through the power of the ministers, which has never been the power of the king. The most dangerous of the internal enemies of France are those who pretend that to them the sentiments of the monarch are doubtful; these men are either very blind or very criminal. They give themselves out to be friends of the king, and yet they are the only enemies of the kingdom. They repeat incessantly that the king is not happy, not contented; as though a king could have any other content-

ment than the welfare of his people! They say that he is shorn of his importance; as though the importance founded on force were not more feeble and precarious than the importance of the law! They say that the king is not free! Detestable calumny, if one presupposes that violence can have been done to his will: absurd calumny, if one seeks want of freedom in the circumstance that his majesty has at different times consented to live among the citizens of Paris—a consent which he owed to their patriotism, nay, even to their fear, but especially to their love. Give, then, the same idea of the French constitution which the king himself entertains of it, and let no doubt be left that it is his majesty's intention to uphold it to the utmost of his power. This constitution, in securing the liberty and the equality of the citizens of the State, founds the welfare of the nation on the most immoveable basis. It ensures the authority of the king through the laws; by a glorious revolution, it anticipates a different revolution, which the abuses of the former government must have infallibly produced, and thereby occasioned perhaps the dissolution of the empire; and, lastly, it renders the king happy." This declaration, dated the 23rd of April, was received by the Assembly with tumultuous applause, and a deputation was sent to thank the king for it. Louis replied that "he only wished that the Assembly could read his heart:" and, that no doubt might exist whether this circular of the minister's expressed his sentiments also, he addressed a letter with his own hand to the prince of Condé, inviting him, in precise accordance with the views and language of that document, to return to his country. "Return, my cousin, and enjoy in it all the happiness that it offers you. Return! Instead of enemies, you will find brethren. I command you, in the name of the nation and in my own name. I conjure you, by the bonds

which unite us, by the blood which flows in our veins. The law has spoken. Obey it, or dread the melancholy consequences of an inexcusable delusion." This letter Louis wrote on the 17th of June, 1791, and four days afterwards, on the 21st, he left Paris secretly with his family, and fled towards the frontiers.

CHAPTER XI.

FLIGHT AND CAPTIVITY OF THE KING, AND DISSOLUTION OF THE FIRST NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

Mirabeau, some time before his death, had endeavoured to persuade the king to repair to Compiegne, where a corps of troops that could be relied upon was to be previously assembled; and he had undertaken to gain over to his side a majority of the deputies, with whose support he might crush the enemies of the throne left behind in Paris. A more complicated plan was proposed to him by Montmorin, the minister. The foreign powers were to declare war against France, and, by way of demonstration, to advance to the frontiers; Louis was to offer his mediation, to settle everything by a declaration to the courts, and in the gratitude of the nation to find means for re-establishing his authority. At the same time, Calonne, who had emigrated, was concerting with the emperor Leopold a third plan, according to which the principal European powers, combining for the purpose, were to assemble an army of one hundred thousand men, which was to march by different routes upon Paris, to collect the loyal regiments that it should meet with by the way, and to restore the former order of things there. The shrewd Leopold made it an express condition that the king should remain in Paris, and, without any co-opera-

tion till the proper moment, strive only to render himself as popular as possible. This plan might easily have been combined with Montmorin's; but, while these arrangements were making, Louis suddenly came to the resolution of escaping from the restraint imposed by his residence in Paris. It has never been known with certainty who induced the king to take this unfortunate step; but it is supposed to have been the emigrant minister, Breteuil, because he was apprehensive that, in case Calonne's plan should succeed, his influence with the court would outweigh his own.

The marquis de Bouillé, governor of Metz, whose principles were entirely monarchical, and whom the most cautious conduct alone had till now maintained in his post, had been fixed upon by Mirabeau as the officer by whose aid the plan which he proposed might be executed. Bouillé was full of zeal, and offered to attempt any thing with the troops under his command; Louis, however, preferred to the simple but bold project of Mirabeau a middle course, apparently less dangerous, but in reality more unsafe, and which could scarcely have led to the desired end. He resolved to go to Montmedy, a small French fortress on the frontier of Luxemburg, with the intention of not only assuming the tone and position of a real king of France towards the National Assembly, but also of defending himself against the head-quarters or court at Coblenz; because he had been informed that Calonne purposed, after effecting a counter-revolution, to take the royal authority from a king who had become unfortunate through too great lenity, and to transfer it to count d'Artois, who could not be accused of that fault, with the title of Regent. About the same time, Gustavus of Sweden, full of sympathy for the misfortunes of the royal family of France, arrived at Spa, that he might be at hand to render his assistance, and at any rate to

conduct the king back to Paris at the head of the emigrants.

The mind of Louis wavered between these different plans. It was resolved in the beginning of April to put one of them in execution, and the popular leaders who discovered in the excursion to St. Cloud a pretext and a preparation for flight to the frontiers were not mistaken. The affair of the 18th of April decided the king, who had till then been irresolute. He wrote to Bouillé, informing him that he should leave Paris on the 19th of June, with his family, in a large carriage built expressly for the purpose, and travel by way of Chalons and Varennes, and ordering him to place escorts of troops of the line at moderate distances along that road for his protection. In vain Bouillé proposed a preferable route through Rheims; in vain he represented that so unusual a carriage would attract notice, that escorts would increase the public curiosity, and, if they were strong enough to afford any real protection, they would proclaim the secret of the intended flight. Louis persisted with the greatest obstinacy in his scheme, and Bouillé accordingly made the required arrangements. But on the appointed day the king deferred his departure because Madame de Tourzel, gouvernante of the king's children, throwing herself at his feet, besought him to permit her to accompany her charge. The guards of the Tuileries had already conceived suspicions; the first and most doubtful part of the attempt, nevertheless, succeeded, and in the night of the 21st of June, the family escaped in disguise from the palace through the apartments of the duke de Villequier, which had an outlet to the Placu de Carroussel, found at a distance two ordinary coaches, which conveyed them to Bondy, on the road to Lorraine, where the great travelling carriage, which had been provided for them by the Swedish count Axel

Fersen, a favourite of the queen's, was waiting for them. The female attendants were put into a second vehicle, the front seat of which was occupied by three of the life guards, in the dress of outriders. By means of a passport granted to a Russian lady, the travellers obtained post-horses without difficulty, and when they had passed Chalons, everything seemed to promise the happiest result.

The king was in high spirits till he reached Sommeville, where he was disappointed at not finding the expected escort. He had neither thought of acquainting Bouillé with the postponement of his departure, nor of despatching from Montmirail, where he had been detained for some hours by the repair of the second carriage, to apprize the officer commanding the first escort of his approach. The latter, after waiting for him, had at length concluded that the plan had failed, and retired to the next post. The consequent retrograde movement of the troops, which required the frequent passage of officers to and fro, and took away all probability from the alleged pretext that they were destined to convoy a considerable sum of money, increased the curiosity which these unusual circumstances had excited in the whole country. Anxious and uneasy, the king arrived, on the evening of the 22nd, at St. Menehould. Here, while giving directions from the carriage for expediting its departure, he was recognised by Drouet, the postmaster, from the resemblance of his face to his likeness on the assignats. Instantly hastening away with two young men to Varennes, the next station, he set the authorities and the commune in motion. The travellers, urged forward by apprehension, had meanwhile arrived, and money liberally bestowed had prevailed on the unwilling postilions to proceed; but Drouet had lost no time in barricading the bridge leading to Montmedy, by up-

setting a cart laden with household furniture, and thus rendering it impassable. The life-guardsmen alighted to clear away the obstruction, when Drouet came up to the coach with a body of men and ordered them to desist. The soldiers, who were well armed, manifested a determination to repel force by force; but Louis, an utter stranger to the circumstances of ordinary life, and who had not acquired the knack of extricating himself from a dilemma by a sudden resolution, was terrified at the idea of resistance, and chose rather to surrender himself a prisoner to a few unarmed citizens. At first he conceived that he was not known. When he became aware of his real situation, he earnestly besought the authorities and the other bystanders not to prevent the prosecution of his journey. "I am your king," said he. "I am fleeing from the daggers and bayonets of the capital, and seeking in the country, amidst my faithful subjects, that freedom and tranquillity which the meanest of you can enjoy. I cannot stay any longer in Paris without sacrificing my own life and the lives of all belonging to me." But so complete was the transfer of all authority to the civil magistrates that he, who but recently was regarded as the unlimited ruler of thirty millions of men, now stood with the feeling of inferiority a supplicant before the mayor, clothed with the power of the law. The same feeling pervaded the troops. One of the escorts, which arrived about an hour after the king's detention at Varennes, drew up before the house where he was, and was preparing to bring him out by force; but, being admonished by the major of the national guard to obey the law, the men looked quietly on while that officer put to flight their commander, who was aiming a blow at him, by discharging his pistol; nay, they even demanded an officer of the national guard to fill his place. Meanwhile, Bouillé, apprized of what had happened, had started

from Stenay with the whole regiment of Royal Allemand dragoons, and nearly reached Varennes. He would no doubt have effected the king's liberation, but the good-natured Louis, influenced by the persuasions of those who detained him, and still more by his horror of bloodshed, sent the general a written order to return. Bouillé, not daring to disobey the express command of his sovereign, retired, and soon afterwards fled, with some of the officers of his staff, to Luxemburg. More fortunate than the king, notwithstanding the protection of escorts, the count de Provence and his consort, who left Paris an hour later, reached the Netherlands in safety, through the firmness and skill of a clever attendant.

When, on the morning of the 21st, the news of this flight became known in Paris, it excited general astonishment but no alarm. The moderate party, which had the ascendency in the National Assembly, strove, by applying the term abduction to the king's departure, to impart to it a less obnoxious colour. But the order which the king had left behind for his ministers, enjoining them to suspend all business during his absence, and still more, a long declaration signed by him and addressed to all Frenchmen, in which he complained bitterly of every thing that had been done since the 23rd of June, 1789, and assigned the whole conduct of the Assembly, the privation of his royal prerogatives, the seizure of the domains, the inadequacy of the civil list, the restriction of his religious offices, and his total want of liberty in general, as the reasons for his quitting Paris to seek safety elsewhere, served themselves to remove the veil which had been thrown over the truth. The tone and purport of this memorial breathed a spirit which, during the last two years, had become antiquated in France. The king complained, among other things, of the miserable preparations made for his reception in the Tuileries, on the 6th

of October, and of the inadequate accommodation which he had ever since been obliged to put up with in that palace. But such was the force of the prevailing ideas that even this paper could not wholly divest itself of them. It concluded with an address to the Parisians to this effect. "The king will forget all the wrong done to his person, and will come to reside among you again as soon as a constitution, voluntarily accepted by him, shall have ensured respect to religion, energy to the government, security to person and property, placed the laws beyond the reach of arbitrary encroachments, and consolidated liberty on an immutable basis." Enough, however, was said to pronounce sentence of death on the whole revolution, and it is inconceivable why this declaration was left behind; why it was not rather deferred till such time as the king found himself out of all danger of being obliged to return into the bosom of that revolution.

The National Assembly assumed a dignified attitude. It commanded the ministers to continue the uninterrupted exercise of their functions: it received the promises of fidelity of the generals; and hastened, in a proclamation to the nation, to refute the charges preferred against it in the king's memorial. A reconciliation had taken place between the more moderate friends of liberty among its members, who had been for a considerable time at variance—Lafayette, Barnave, Lameth, and others, who now sacrificed their differences of opinion, in order to make head against the furious Jacobins. To this end they repaired in a body to the club, which some of the better disposed had ceased to frequent for above a year, and frustrated the complaints raised by Danton and Robespierre against Lafayette, by exposing the base motives of their co-operation. Orleans, who had long since returned from England, hoped at first on this occasion to attain

that importance which had hitherto eluded his grasp, and to be appointed regent: but he had this time the mortification to learn that none but a few of his intimate associates thought of allotting any part whatever to him. In the opinion of the people, not only Louis XVI., but royalty itself, seemed to be set aside for ever. Hawkers cried in the streets the letter of the *late* king of the French; all the effigies of kings and princes were covered or pulled down; nay, even the words, king, queen, royal, were erased from public signs and inscriptions; and on the Tuileries was posted a bill: "This house to be let." If the king had not been prevented from proceeding, in all probability the republic would have been at once established, and Louis would very soon have quitted the country, and joined his brothers. Fate, however, decreed otherwise.

On the evening of the 23rd, tidings of his detention reached Paris. Three members of the Assembly, Latour Maubourg, Barnave, and Petion, were deputed, with the adjutant-general Dumas, to superintend the arrangements for bringing him back to Paris. They met the fugitives at Epernay, whither they had already been conducted under a strong guard, and travelled with them to the Tuileries. During the journey, Barnave, though a stern republican, was so impressed with the graceful dignity of the queen, and the good sense and benevolence of Louis, that he became a convert to the royal cause, which he ever afterwards supported. A like favourable impression was made upon the royal family by his own generosity of feeling and enlightened intellect, coupled with the delicacy of his attentions and gentle manners, contrasted with the grossness and insolence of Petion's behaviour. The life-guards who had accompanied the king were chained outside the carriage; and peasants, armed with scythes and pitchforks, were mingled with the national guards by

whom it was escorted. A poor curé approached to address the king; the mob fell upon him, threw him down, and were on the point of putting him to death. "Tigers," cried Barnave, "have you ceased to be French? From a nation of brave men are you changed into a nation of murderers?" Nothing but these energetic words saved the life of the curé. The chevalier de Dampierre, who possessed a mansion near the road, and who had come to kiss the king's hand soon after he had left Varennes, had been shot by the escort so near to the king's carriage that it was sprinkled with his blood, and his body was torn in pieces by the savage multitude.

In the evening of the 25th, the melancholy train reached Paris, surrounded by many thousand national guards, and an unarmed mob. For many leagues from the city, an immense concourse of people lined each side of the road; not a head was uncovered, not a shout was heard, as the royal captives, seated between the deputies for protection against any explosion of popular rage, slowly advanced. On the other hand, the carriage which followed, decorated with branches of trees, in which were Drouet and his assistants, crowned with civic wreaths, was every where greeted with acclamations of joy. Execrations were vented at times against the royal couple, and, at the Tuileries, the furious populace would have murdered the defenceless life-guards before their faces, had not their savage purpose been prevented by the national guard.

If the king showed an extraordinary want of judgment and foresight in the memorial which he left behind at his departure from Paris, the Assembly has not passed uncensured for bringing him back. A man, whose opinion ought to have the more weight because he never scrupled to resort to any means necessary for gaining an end — Napoleon — thus expresses himself on this subject in his

Memoirs: "The National Assembly never committed such an egregious blunder as in bringing back the king from Varennes. A fugitive and powerless, he was hastening to the frontier, and, in a few hours, would have been out of the French territory. What should they have done in these circumstances? clearly, facilitated his escape, and declared the throne vacant by his desertion. They would thus have avoided the infamy of a regicide government, and attained their great object, republican institutions: instead of which, by bringing him back, they embarrassed themselves with a sovereign whom they had no just reason for destroying, and lost the inestimable advantage of getting rid of the royal family without an act of cruelty."

Justly did Louis, on re-entering his apartments, condemn his folly in undertaking such an enterprise. The confidence of the nation in his sincerity, and the attachment to his person which had hitherto manifested itself in the greatest commotions, seemed now to be irretrievably lost. The Tuileries henceforward became an absolute prison, in which the king was guarded with his family; the exercise of the royal authority was provisionally taken from him; and the ministers received commands from the Assembly alone. It was evident that, according to the new constitution, France was, in reality, already a republic, and that royalty was only an ornament which might be dropped without inconvenience: its abolition, therefore, was expected by most, and clamorously demanded by the Jacobins. "Monsieur Louis Bourbon," they said, "had severed all the ties between himself and the nation; the thirty millions that he was to cost annually would afford a ready resource for reducing the taxes." But the result so generally anticipated did not follow. Precisely because the Jacobins were striving to found their power on the ruins of royalty, the party of the more

moderate friends of liberty deemed it expedient to uphold the king. Among the Jacobins themselves there was one deserter—Barnave, formerly one of the most decided enemies of the court, had, as we have seen, totally changed his sentiments during the journey from Varennes; while Lafayette considered the Jacobins and the adherents of Orleans as his mortal foes. Thus a struggle ensued between the National Assembly and the Jacobin club, and, through the predominating influence of the former, the fortunes of the king took for the moment a favourable turn. After 290 members of the Assembly had formally voted against the suspension and the provisional imprisonment of the king, the committee of inquiry reported that, according to the letter of the law, his journey could not be considered as a crime, and that the inviolability ensured to him by the constitution forbade his being tried upon any pretext whatever.

The Jacobins now excited the rabble, which had been so active on the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, to meet in the Champ de Mars on the 17th of July, and by tumult to force the Assembly, as it had done the court, to comply with its wishes. The mob set themselves in motion with shouts of "Down with the Bourbons and the National Assembly!" Before them, upon pikes, were borne the heads of two innocent men, whom they had murdered. Energetic measures frustrated the scheme. On the requisition of Bailly, the mayor, the municipal authorities caused the martial law to be read, and the red flag to be hoisted at the Hotel de Ville; upon which Lafayette marched with a few battalions of the national guard against the rioters, and dispersed them with a single volley. By the sacrifice of twenty or thirty beggars, rogues, thieves, and murderers, France was for the moment rescued from the rule of bloodthirsty men; but the instigators of the disturbance, Danton, Desmoulins, Marat,

Carra, and others, unfortunately escaped, though a decree of the Assembly commanded their apprehension and that of all who had, by their writings, excited the people to insurrection. Lafayette himself seemed to be afraid to follow up his victory. Instead of profiting by the panic which it occasioned, and dissolving once for all the Jacobin club, from which the well-disposed members seceded from that day, he strove to undermine it by founding with the latter the club of the Feuillants, likewise named after a monastery, and addressing a circular to all the Jacobins in the kingdom, stating that this club comprehended the genuine association of all the friends of the constitution, whereas unconstitutional principles had gained the ascendency among the Jacobins through new members, many of whom were foreigners. The Jacobin clubs in the provinces, however, adhered stedfastly to the mother society, as did also the populace in Paris, which took more delight in tumultuous scenes, and in the wildest enterprises, than in moderate speeches and slow measures. That populace, however, was kept in check by the ascendency which the leading Feuillants had acquired in the Assembly, and it proceeded without further obstruction to complete the framing of the new constitution. Though, under the influence of the now predominant party, not only the form of the monarchy was preserved, but many points were decided in a manner more favourable to it — for instance, the title of French prince was restored to the members of the royal family— still the hopes entertained by many of the formation of two chambers, like those of the English parliament, were not fulfilled, because the Feuillants were too much attached to republican forms, on the one hand, and apprehensive, on the other, of appearing to be friends of the monarchical authority, which was generally considered as synonymous with despotism.

Thus the new constitution, completed according to the original plan, was an attempt made with great art to create anew the social relations out of matter alone agreeably to the laws of calculating reason; without regard to any of those invisible principles which affect the condition of every people as well as of every individual; without reference to the past, to manners, and to the national character; without acknowledging the religious side of human nature; and without admitting the sanction of the church, even in cases of baptism and marriage, as a necessary complement to civil acts. The principle of an absolute equality, which the constitution adopted for its foundation, was one of the most mischievous tendency. The real object of this principle, first broached in the Rights of Man, which Burke aptly called a digest of anarchy, "was," in the language of that eloquent statesman, "to level all those institutions and sever all those connexions, natural, religious, and civil, which hold together society by a chain of subordination—to raise soldiers against their officers, tradesmen against their landlords, curates against their bishops, children against their parents." This very principle laid down at the outset of the act of the constitution, that all men are born and remain free, and possessed of equal rights, was, nevertheless, contradicted by the acknowledgment of the right of property, the source of the greatest inequalities, and by the division into active and passive citizens, by virtue of which those only who paid taxes to the value of three days' labour at least were qualified to take a share in the government by voting at elections or by being elected deputies. The electors, who were chosen in primary assemblies of the people, in order, in their turn, to choose deputies in the electoral assemblies, were required, but not the deputies themselves, to possess a still more considerable income. The right of resistance

to oppression established in the exordium was in still more decided opposition to the law contained in Article VII., that every citizen apprehended by virtue of arbitrary orders of arrest must immediately obey, and would render himself liable to punishment by resistance.

The adoption of untenable principles, the very application of which carried their confutation along with it, was, however, a less evil, or at any rate one of more remote operation; the greater, and the more mischievous at the moment, was the absurd footing on which the legislative and the executive power, that is to say, the National Assembly and the king, were placed in regard to each other. The former had arrogated to itself an absolutely despotic power. It enacted laws, without being prevented in reality by the king's suspensive veto from carrying them into execution; for that veto was sure to find insurmountable obstacles in the application: it had the management of the whole financial system; it sold the national domains; it controlled the ministers; it determined the amount as well as the pay of the land and sea forces; it called the judges to account; it decided upon war and peace; it disbanded the troops; it alone conferred honorary distinctions; it convoked the primary assemblies; in a word, it was omnipotent: for the people had nothing to do in their assemblies but to attend to the elections; while the king, though nominally the head of the administration as well as of the army, and charged with the preservation of the internal tranquillity and the external security of the realm, was, in fact, only the servant of the Assembly, whose principal duties were to subscribe their laws, to send them to the authorities, or to publish them through other channels, and, in the exercise of this duty, he was obliged to sign a certain formula, signifying that it was his will and command that a reward should be conferred on the men who had

detained him prisoner at Varennes. Even the right of pardon was taken from him by these slaves of a political system, founded only on abstract opinions.

This constitution, being completed, was read to the National Assembly on the 3d of September, 1791. It was carried on the same day to the king, and the guard was removed, that he might be left at perfect liberty in his decision of acceptance or rejection. A positive refusal to swear to absurd and impracticable laws, coupled with an offer to resign the crown, would have been, without doubt, the most manly and honourable determination: but Louis declared, on the 13th of September, that "he accepted the constitution, because he was convinced that it accorded with the wishes of the people; that he should, nevertheless, deviate from the truth if he were to say that he had found the necessary force in the means for carrying on the executive and administrative government; but, as opinions differed on these subjects, he consented that experience should decide; that the most urgent necessity was respect for the laws, the restoration of order, and unity among the citizens. He wished to impress this point on the nation and on the Assembly. In order to put an end to all animosities, to mitigate the evils usually attendant on revolutions, and to procure the possibility of a due execution of the laws, he wished that what was past might be forgotten, and that all accusations and proceedings, arising out of events of the revolution, might terminate in one general reconciliation." Agreeably to this wish, a general amnesty was decreed, and, on the 14th of September, Louis repaired to the Assembly to confirm the acceptance of the constitution by a solemn oath. Great rejoicings took place on the days upon which it was promulgated. The proclamation issued by the king for this purpose commenced with the words: "I have accepted the constitution, and I am resolved to exert

all my power to uphold and to enforce it. The end of the revolution is arrived. It is time to fix the opinion of Europe respecting the fate of France, and to prove that the French are worthy of freedom."

However defective, however inadequate and unfit for founding real liberty and the public welfare, the new French constitution may appear, it might possibly have maintained itself for a time at least, as well as other still more imperfect constitutions, had not its founders, either through an unpardonable mistake or the force of circumstances, withdrawn from the weakly plant which needed the utmost attention, and left the further care of it to the hands of rough and inexperienced successors. By a strange fatality, that Assembly, the activity of which had produced such great commotions, was destined by its dissolution to do still greater mischief, and the re-establishment of the authority of the law to render the pacification of minds utterly impossible.

The unlimited power assumed by the Assembly could not fail to give rise to the question, how long it intended to retain that power. The completion of the constitution was fixed as the epoch when it was to consider its mission as accomplished and its labours at an end: for the reproach thrown out by its adversaries, that in the name of the people it governed the people most despotically, and the inference deduced from it, that consequently the people were still but a will-less instrument of a governing class, could only be contradicted by the enthusiastic friends of the idea of liberty with the representation that, by means of the frequent change of deputies, many members of the people, at least, if not all, would gradually attain to authority. As soon as this notion had taken root, the same public opinion which the Assembly had employed as the prop of its omnipotence imposed on it the necessity of dissolving itself at the stated time, lest the ground

should sink under its feet. This change of rulers required by the republican form, which, contrasted with their permanence under a monarchy, may be considered, according to circumstances, as sometimes an advantage, at others a disadvantage, was a most dangerous experiment for France, precisely at that juncture. The consignment of the half-finished fabric of the state, all at once, to new and moreover inexperienced architects could not fail to excite just apprehensions. The danger of this change might, however, be diminished, if carried into effect rather in form than in reality, and if at least part of the representatives were transferred by re-election to the new assembly. Considering the high esteem in which they were held by the nation, there could be no doubt that this would be the case. For that very reason a numerous party strove to prevent such re-election. That moderation which had been gradually gaining ground in the Assembly was adverse to the plans of the Jacobins: they desired an entirely new assembly; and, in order to carry their point, they proposed that none of the sitting members should be eligible to it: for they were not so confident of their influence as to imagine that in their new elections their candidates would beat the old representatives, but well knew that the former must triumph, if they could get rid of the too formidable rivalry of the latter. The mouth-piece of this party was Robespierre, a man who, in the sequel, was destined, in the name of liberty and virtue, to perpetrate unparalleled crimes, and whose odious notoriety may easily lead one to mistrust the sincerity with which he then spoke of virtue, freedom, and self-denial. On the 16th of May, 1791, he defended the proposal of the Jacobins against Thouret's attack with a warmth of conviction, which, for the first time, caused his moderate rhetorical talent, eclipsed by many others, to make a powerful impression.

"Consider," said he, "what influence your constitution must derive from the sacrifice of your own pretensions; how calumny will be silenced, when it cannot reproach any of you with having sought or gained any thing for himself. But the public weal demands the necessity of your retirement. In a large state, where the people cannot exercise their sovereignty unless through representatives, it is but just to change the latter frequently, and to change them all; for nothing is more natural than the wish to exercise one's rights, to manifest one's sentiments, to express one's wishes: these are the foundations of liberty." Amidst tumultuous applause, a cry was raised for putting the motion immediately to the vote. Its opponents heard themselves accused of interested views; and, amidst loud uproar, a decree was passed which, more than any other, contributed to the speedy growth of all the germs of mischief inherent in the revolution, the overthrow of the scarcely-erected constitution, and the horrible events of the succeeding years; for, no doubt, things would have taken a very different turn, if members of the first assembly had been admitted into the second. This unfortunate circumstance arose from the co-operation of totally different parties. The champions of liberty on the left side covered their wishes and their plans with the veil of disinterestedness; and the friends of monarchical authority, sitting on the right side, united with them in hopes that the old order of things would rise again from amidst the ruins of the constitution; it was the sincere partisans of constitutional monarchy alone who opposed the motion, but they were either cried down or gained over by an appeal addressed to their magnanimity.

Thus then, after the acceptance of the constitution, the functions of the National Assembly were suddenly at an end. It would fain have retained them a little longer;

but the deputies to the new assembly were already elected, and the delay was treated as an attempt at an unlawful prolongation of their power. Addresses poured in from all quarters, many of them drawn up in so insolent a tone that they could not be read to the Assembly, requiring its speedy dissolution. That Assembly, which for two years and a half had ruled with unlimited sway, abolished ancient usages with one decree, created new political forms with another — to which nothing had appeared impossible — which had tried and pardoned the first monarch in Christendom — for whose decrees innumerable swords were drawn — before which twenty-five millions of men prostrated themselves on the earth as before an assembly of gods — that assembly was now insulted in the grossest manner. Full well it knew from what quarter this change proceeded, and, resolving to avail itself of its expiring strength for the destruction of the clubs, it issued a decree enacting that their presidents and members should be punished with the loss of all civil rights for a longer or shorter period, if they should ever dare, in a corporate capacity, to put forward petitions or deputations, or to indulge in threats or acts of violence against either private individuals or the authorities of the state: but the Jacobins laughed at their impotent rage, which was only capable of launching empty threats.

At length, on the 30th of September, the king availed himself of the authority conferred on him by the constitution, not to prolong the session, but to close it; and this he did in a speech, which betrayed the feeling that, in those whom he had often considered as enemies and always as oppressors, he was now dismissing his protectors; for, that he might not enjoy one day's peace and liberty, the new assembly was ready to open its session on the following morning. When the deputies separated, spectators imagined that in the countenances of many they could

discover a presentiment of dethroned kings. By the Jacobins most of them were hooted and hissed; but Robespierre and Petion, crowned with laurel, were borne through the streets upon the shoulders of the populace. The magnificent illumination of the Tuileries, with which the king exhausted his coffers, was beheld without interest: vague forebodings had taken possession of all minds.

The last days of the existence of this Assembly were marked by a flagrant spoliation of a friendly power which showed how little the new rulers of France might be expected to regard the claims of right and justice in their conduct towards foreign powers. In the month of September it passed a decree incorporating the counties of Avignon and Venaissin with France. The latter had been given to the Holy See in the 13th century by Philip III., and the former was purchased by it a century later of Joan, queen of Sicily and countess of Provence. The French monarchs had long coveted these districts, which were completely inclosed by their territories; indeed, in their quarrels with the papal chair, they had not scrupled to seize Avignon, but always restored the city on the adjustment of their differences.

Situated, as it were, in the heart of France, these districts could not possibly escape the contagion of the opinions and principles generated by the revolution. Part of the inhabitants of Avignon, Carpentras, and Orange soon desired the union of those towns and their districts to France; but the nobles, landed proprietors, and other wealthy persons opposed this scheme with all their might, and strove to keep things on their former footing. Their opposition was unavailing; and several of them were murdered. The popular deputies in the National Assembly declared that no time ought to be lost in delivering the unfortunate people from such cruel

discord, and in fulfilling their wish expressed with so much energy; and that all free men had a right to choose the government to which they would belong.

Meanwhile, the patriots, as they styled themselves, had either murdered or driven many of the inhabitants from Avignon, and then proceeded in bands to the adjoining county of Venaissin. They found means to seduce the troops, which the king had sent agreeably to a decree of the National Assembly; so that the soldiers, instead of restoring order, assisted in the work of plunder and murder. A band of armed robbers, accompanied by a few French soldiers, made an incursion on the 10th of December, 1790, into the territory of the town of Cavaillon; and summoned the inhabitants to withdraw from the authority of the bishop of Rome and unite themselves with France. The inhabitants declared that they intended to remain faithful to his holiness, and protested against the entrance of foreign troops into their territory. The brigands, under the protection of the National Assembly, nevertheless advanced with four pieces of cannon against Cavaillon. The townspeople made a sortie and repulsed the assailants, but they had no artillery: the brigands again brought up their cannon, burst open the gates, and planted the white flag on the walls of the place. The leader of the banditti, who is said to have been an Irishman, named Patrix (probably Patrick), gave orders that all prisoners taken in arms should be conducted to Avignon. The robbers committed inhuman excesses in the town. They then advanced upon Carpentras. At their approach, the populace rose against their magistrates, killed several officers, and placed the arms of France over the gate. The brigands entered, and took possession of the place without resistance.

After the army of the banditti had plundered Cavaillon, and committed there barbarities which would be

deemed impossible among civilized nations; after French soldiers had drunk the warm blood of one of their murdered victims, (Rostang) and at one of their feasts placed upon a dish in the middle of the table the head of an aged clergyman, which they had cut off; after these monsters had abused, in the grossest manner, and then mangled the wives and daughters of the unfortunate inhabitants; after other females, to escape their brutality, had suffered themselves to be packed in chests, and carried like merchandize, at the most imminent hazard, through the camp of the brigands, one might suppose that the cannibals would be sated with horrors. These, however, were only the prelude to the atrocities practised in the county of Avignon.

The inhabitants of the country, on learning that the brigands had actually commenced a civil war in the city, and laid siege to the town of Carpentras, which adhered to the Pope, deemed it high time to provide for their defence. Upwards of fifty small towns and villages sent deputies to Sainte Cecile, and there formed on the 14th of March, 1791, a league, the object of which was to defend the communes against the city of Avignon and those places which had joined it in demanding a union with France. The deputies, who met at Sainte Cecile, assumed the appellation of confederates, and held regular meetings to concert means for restoring tranquillity to their unfortunate country.

The army of the brigands comprehended a great number of deserters from the two French regiments, Soissonnois and Penthievre. Had du Portail, the minister of war, demanded the delivery of these deserters, agreeably to the treaties subsisting between France and Avignon, as he was several times urged but to no purpose to do, that force must have been broken up.

On the 15th of April, 1791, the army of the confede-

rates marched to Vaison, took the village, and put to death the mayor and his assistant, who were both in close connexion with the banditti of Avignon. Fifteen hundred of the latter, with twelve pieces of cannon, set out from Avignon to revenge this act. They fell in with the troops of the confederates near Sarrian, and, after a furious conflict, besieged that place, which they took, plundered, and burned. The horrors committed on this occasion could not have been surpassed by the most ferocious savages. Even young girls were violated, mangled, murdered, and then their hearts were cut out of their bodies and devoured, dripping with blood, by the cannibals.

A few days afterwards, these wretches shot their leader, because they suspected him of having connived at the escape of a prisoner, and they chose a worthy successor to him in the person of Jourdan, who had furnished proofs of his qualification for the office on the 6th of October at Versailles, where he cut off the heads of the two soldiers murdered by the mob, and afterwards assumed the title of the Headsman. As soon as he was elected, he fell upon the bleeding body of his predecessor, chopped off his fingers, and put them one after another in his mouth, as though smoking: and in this way he paraded through the whole camp, as if to prove to his ragged associates that he was worthy of the post to which they had raised him. The head of the murdered general was cut off, stuck upon a pole, and carried to Avignon.

On the 23rd of April, the brigands laid siege to Carpentras, but were repulsed. They thereupon ravaged the whole surrounding country, plundering the houses, and slaughtering all the inhabitants who had not saved themselves by flight. On the 25th they again appeared before Carpentras, and bombarded the town for eight hours with red-hot balls. The besieged made an obstinate defence, and in several sorties killed more than six

hundred of the assailants, whom they drove back to Montreux. The latter now resumed their trade of indiscriminate pillage, and, numbering 6,000 men, they levied heavy contributions from the unfortunate inhabitants of Cavaillon and other neighbouring towns. Again they marched to Carpentras, and attempted to storm the place, but again they were beaten off with considerable loss.

Jourdan now led the remains of his army back to Avignon, and demanded immediate supplies in money and ammunition. These were refused by the members of the municipality, on which the ruffian withdrew his force, laid waste the surrounding country, again proceeded to Carpentras, and bombarded it with red-hot balls. Once more he was repulsed with great loss, by means of a singular stratagem. The brigands had encamped at some distance from the town in a plain, whence they fired their red-hot balls. The inhabitants carried large pots full of pitch to the tops of the highest houses, and, setting fire to the pitch, raised dismal cries as soon as the pots were in full blaze. The brigands, conceiving that their balls had taken effect, and that the cries were those of despair, triumphantly advanced to force their way into the place, when a masked battery suddenly poured upon them a discharge of grape-shot with such effect as to drive them back to their camp. Jourdan ordered his cavalry to bring in the dead and wounded; and the way in which they performed this operation was worthy of such a force. One end of a cord being fastened round a wounded man, the other was tied to the horse's crupper; and in this manner they dragged their mangled comrades behind them at full gallop, till they were out of reach of the cannon of the town. Jourdan was furious at his defeat, and wrote to Avignon:—"La vengeance bouillonne dans mes veines;" and, having adjusted his differences

with the municipality of that city, he was liberally supplied with provisions.

The National Assembly had meanwhile applied to the king to send commissioners to Avignon to put a stop to these sanguinary proceedings. Arriving at Orange, as a neutral place on the 13th of June, they summoned before them the principal inhabitants of the two belligerent towns, Avignon and Carpentras, and under their mediation a convention was signed between the parties, agreeably to which the army of the brigands was dissolved, and some detachments of French troops entered Avignon. These, however, were soon withdrawn, and replaced by five hundred of the national guard from Nimes. The brigands again began to show themselves; and the jacobinically disposed commissioners one day assembled the inhabitants in the principal church, and proposed that they should finally decide respecting their union with France. As soon as they had retired, Jourdan the executioner mounted the pulpit, and declared that those who voted for the Pope and against the union with France should be flung immediately into the subterranean vaults beneath the church. This was no empty threat: for the vaults had shortly before been opened, and were quite ready to swallow up all who adhered to their legitimate sovereign. Similar proceedings took place in other towns: some of the communes, nevertheless, had the courage to declare their determination to maintain their allegiance to the Pope.

Jourdan again assembled his brigands in Avignon, and committed such excesses, that the commissioners threatened to bring back the troops of the line: but the banditti repaired to their residence, and declared that they would oppose the entry of the troops by force. Marching through the streets of the city, they summoned the inhabitants to arms, menacing with death all who should not

join them. The commissioners, in alarm, sent directions to the troops to retire. Jourdan broke open the arsenal, which had been sealed with the arms of the king by the commander of the troops of the line, and seized the arms deposited there: and, when two of the commissioners represented that by his conduct he would draw upon himself the vengeance of France, he only returned a coarse and abusive reply.

Joined by Verninac, the third of the commissioners, the brigands now made themselves masters of all the posts; and on the 21st of August dragged to prison forty persons, mostly members of the municipality, searched the houses in the following night, plundering them of every thing valuable, and apprehending many of the inhabitants. Unable to prevent these excesses, the national guard of Nimes retired, leaving Avignon to its fate. The city was now completely in the power of the banditti. Two of the commissioners returned to Paris, having accomplished none of the purposes for which they were sent, but only encouraged the brigands in their outrages. In the National Assembly the abbé Maury exposed their flagrant misconduct, but the result was, that on the 12th of September, the Assembly declared that the counties of Avignon and Venaissin should thenceforth form an integral part of France, and on the 23rd that they should be divided between the two adjoining departments.

The publication of this decree at Avignon gave free scope to the brigands. They plundered convents, churches, and other public buildings; and such were the outrages which they committed at Sorgues, that the abbé Mulot, one of the commissioners, who had remained in the country, and was even a friend of this horde of barbarians, found it necessary to send troops thither. A conflict ensued, in which a few of the soldiers, as well as a number of the banditti, were killed, and some of the latter taken

prisoners. Jourdan immediately secured several of the principal citizens, and declared that he should keep them as hostages, and hang them without mercy, if the least harm were done to his captive comrades. Mulot's secretary was seized by the brigands, and cruelly murdered. These and other atrocities were only a prelude to the horrible scenes which ensued. "Crimes were heaped upon crimes," says Mulot, "and murder became a pastime."

Jourdan and the other leaders of the banditti had sold to the Jews the plate and the sacred utensils of the churches which they had plundered; and these, in revenge for the humiliations which they had suffered under the papal government, applied them publicly to the most ignoble purposes. A riot took place on this account, and several persons lost their lives. The inhabitants of the city, indignant at this profanation, threatened to curb the brigands by force. The robbers resolved to plunder the *mont de piété*, and then to leave the city with their booty. The populace rose. The women assembled in the church of the Carmelites, and thither Lecuyer, one of the principal authors of the disturbances in the county, was brought prisoner. The raging multitude fell upon him and murdered him before the high altar. Such was the general fury that the women, having no other weapons, stabbed him with their scissors till he expired. No sooner was Jourdan informed of this circumstance than he summoned the leaders of his brigands, and made them swear a fearful oath to revenge the death of their comrade. Bell and drums sounded an alarm. The inhabitants of the city and the peasants from the contiguous villages hastened to the assistance of their women: but, having no other weapons than bludgeons, hatchets, and dung-forks, they were put to flight after an obsti-

nate conflict by the banditti, who were well provided with fire-arms and cannon.

The robbers were now uncontrolled masters of the city. In vain the wretched inhabitants solicited succours of Mulot and Ferrieres, the commander of the French troops; the one could not, the other would not, render assistance. Jourdan ordered the gates to be closed. Repairing at night with torches and two hundred men to the prison, where about ninety persons of both sexes, whom he had seized on the 21st of August, had ever since been confined, he declared that he would sacrifice a hecatomb to the manes of his friend Lecuyer. The door was broken open with axes: the butchers rushed in and the work of slaughter commenced, with barbarities which the pen recoils from relating. Jourdan ordered all the bodies, some of them only wounded and yet living, to be thrown into a deep hole near the prison, called the ice-pit. Dead and living were accordingly flung into it indiscriminately, and the entrance was walled up. On the following days, the brigands forced their way into the houses, plundering them and murdering whole families.

It is impossible to convey an adequate conception of the deplorable state of the once flourishing city of Avignon, the surviving inhabitants of which were long left in uncertainty respecting the fate of the prisoners. The murderers circulated rumours that they were all living; the editor of the Courier d'Avignon asserted in his paper that none of them had been put to death; and when the people would not believe these statements, the municipal officers drew up an official report, attesting that, on examining the prison, they had convinced themselves that twenty-five of the prisoners were yet in existence.

For three weeks the city was in the hands of Jourdan and his blood-thirsty accomplices. The gates were closed, and not a creature suffered to enter or go out. He en-

trenched himself, with four or five hundred of his brigands, in the citadel, where they had collected all sorts of provisions sufficient for nearly a year.

The decree of the National Assembly, incorporating Avignon with France, was approved by the king on the 3rd of October; and three commissioners were sent to carry it into effect. Apprized, on their arrival at Orange, of the enormities which had been perpetrated, they ordered general Choisy to march with 3000 men to Avignon. At his summons the gates were opened, but they were again closed by his troops as soon as they had entered. The monster Jourdan made a show of defending himself; but, on the approach of the troops with their cannon, he and his band gave up their stronghold. On the following day, the commissioners followed, and received in the name of the French nation the oath of allegiance of the inhabitants.

They found the whole city a scene of the deepest affliction. Fathers, husbands, mothers, and children, fell at their feet, soliciting the liberation of the relatives who had been torn from them. Not doubting the truth of the official report which had been drawn up, they proceeded to the prison, but not one of the wretched inmates was left. The ice-pit was opened, and from the position of the bodies it was evident that, along with the dead, many living persons had been consigned to that fearful grave. The commissioners ordered the authors of these murders to be secured. Several of them were apprehended, and among these young Lecuyer, a lad of sixteen, who alone had killed seven persons. Others, including Jourdan, fled, pursued by a detachment of hussars, led on by a young tradesman named Bigonnet, for whose head the brigand general had shortly before offered a reward of fifty louis-d'ors. Jourdan leaped into the river Sorgues; Bigonnet followed, secured him, and took him to Avig-

non. About fifty of the leaders of the horde were apprehended.

On the 26th of November the National Assembly decreed the formation of a court at Avignon for the trial of the criminals. The evidence of the witnesses disclosed enormities surpassing conception, so that the judges were frequently obliged to suspend the proceedings, till they could get the better of the heart-sickness which the recital of such horrors occasioned.

In Paris, however, the executioner and his murderous crew found defenders not only among the Jacobins and the conductors of the public press, but in the National Assembly itself. The slaughtered victims were denominated aristocrats, and the butchers brave patriots, who deserved at most a slight reprimand for having gone rather too far, since they had not only murdered, but ravished, tortured, and plundered. In spite of the eloquent denunciations of some of the members, the Assembly decreed a total amnesty for all the inhumanities committed in the counties of Avignon and Venaissin. On the 5th of April, 1792, Jourdan and his accomplices were set at liberty and conducted in triumph to Arles, where they were received by their brethren, the Marseillois, with the greatest rejoicing.

It is impossible to describe the consternation which pervaded Avignon at the intelligence of this amnesty. Five hundred witnesses who had given evidence on the late trial were exposed without protection to the rage of the murderers. On the 29th of April, Jourdan and his associates, accompanied by the Marseillois, made their triumphal entry into Avignon. The executioner, in the uniform of a French general, crowned with laurel, rode first. He was followed by a carriage drawn by twenty-four asses, in which were the other leaders of his band, also crowned with laurel and wearing national cockades.

Their women, dressed like Amazons, rode on horseback by their side; and after them came the whole army of Marseilles Jacobins. This spectacle was a warning to all the honest and well-disposed inhabitants of Avignon to provide for their safety by flight: the judges of the criminal court withdrew, and the witnesses concealed themselves or emigrated.

On the following day, Jourdan's first business was to seek the witnesses. All who were discovered were put to death without mercy, and their houses plundered. The executioner and his crew were again absolute masters of the city. He rode through the streets with his body-guard, crying, every now and then, "This time the ice-pit shall be filled!" He went the same day to the Jacobin club, where Raphel, one of his aides-de-camp, proposed to fill that pit with the relatives of the persons butchered on the 10th of October and the witnesses on the trial. He next formed a municipality with his creatures, and its first measure was to impose a new tax on the citizens for the purpose of paying his banditti.

The wretched inhabitants made another attempt to excite the pity of the National Assembly for their unmerited fate. They sent a deputation of the most respectable citizens to Paris, at the head of which was Deleutre, who on the 7th of May drew an affecting picture of the state of Avignon in a speech delivered before the Assembly. In spite of this pathetic appeal, nothing was done in their behalf, and on the following day a letter from general Montesquiou, who commanded the army of the South, informed the minister of war that he had withdrawn all the troops of the line from the city, as if to allow free scope to the blood-thirsty crew, now in the ascendant there.

Such were some of the first fruits of the boasted revolution.

CHAPTER XII.

EFFECT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION ON FOREIGN POWERS.

The scenes that were passing in France had excited in the highest degree the attention of the world, and produced in the minds of princes and people an interest hitherto unknown. The former viewed them at first only with the eyes of cabinet policy, in reference to the change which the general balance would undergo from the decline of the power of France. Prussia was not displeased to see the internal disorganization of a state which was closely connected with Austria by the ties of consanguinity and alliance. England was accused of having kindled the disturbances by paying the popular leaders, in order to revenge herself for the succour afforded to the Americans by Louis XVI.; and to get rid of the only rival to her naval supremacy. But things soon began to assume a different aspect. The attacks and the humiliations which the royal authority sustained, in the course of the eighteenth century, in Sweden and Poland, from a too powerful aristocracy, had been viewed by other sovereigns with indifference, by some, indeed, with pleasure, as promoting their political views. Very different feelings were awakened when one of the mightiest monarchs of Christendom was stripped of his authority by the lower classes of the people, and this proceeding was represented in speeches and in writing as the consummation of political wisdom, as the highest point of social development, as the final destination of all kingdoms and nations, and as an example for their imitation. By the middling classes, in most countries, the change of things in France was hailed, as the victory of right and truth over abuses

and prejudices, with an enthusiasm which increased to passion when the higher classes declared themselves against the revolution as decidedly as the others had done in its favour. A mighty conflict of opinion now began throughout all Europe, like that which, three centuries before, at the commencement of the Reformation, had produced universal discord. Some attempts were made, by means of a rigorous examination of the theory upon which the new French constitution was founded, to abate the fervour manifested in its behalf. But when was sober reason ever listened to in such cases! Neither will it appear surprising that nothing was done on the other side to turn to account the important lessons furnished by the course of events in France, and to allay the prevailing ferment by judicious treatment of its elements. Natural feelings of pity and indignation filled the minds of sovereigns and the great at the sight of passing events in France; the warnings of enlightened judges were regarded by them as threats of secret opponents; and the advocates of antiquated institutions in church and state, who had always been adverse to the spirit of innovation which the princes had favoured, now found more attention when they represented every thing new as dangerous and revolutionary, and the much vaunted illumination as the worst enemy of the throne. Most of the rulers, therefore, adopted the notion that far too many concessions had been made to the spirit of the age, and that there must be a return to the old system, if right and order were to subsist any longer upon earth.

But it was not merely general apprehensions of the mischievous consequences of the new doctrines that were excited in the sovereigns: they were alarmed by a terrible plan for extending the evils which raged in France to themselves and their subjects. An opinion was propa-

gated that the French revolution was to be attributed entirely, not to the corruption of the social system, and to the blunders of a weak monarch misled by foolish friends, but to a conspiracy formed many years before against church and state, and to the co-operative activity of numerous secret societies for the purpose of overthrowing every where the existing order of things.

In most of the countries of Europe, and in other quarters of the world, wherever European civilization prevailed, were established lodges of Freemasons, a society or order founded in England in the first quarter of the century for philanthropic objects, to the meetings of which none but its own members were admitted, which had adopted ancient forms and symbolic customs borrowed from the architectural societies of the middle ages, and in whose lodges were delivered historical and moral instructions pointing to higher walks of science. The governments opposed no obstacle to the extension of this order, because, in the imperfect state of the police system at that day, it remained unknown to some, while most were satisfied that the association could not engage in any designs detrimental to the public welfare without turning against itself the interests of its numerous members in every class of civil society. This opinion maintained its ground even after another order, the order of the Illuminati, an imitation of freemasonry, was accused and convicted of designs dangerous to the state. Adam Weishaupt, professor of the canon law at Ingolstadt, was, as lay teacher of an ecclesiastical science and as a partisan of new ideas, attacked by the orthodox party in Bavaria, and founded the above-mentioned order in 1776, in the first place to protect himself from persecution, and in the next to put down what he regarded as religious and political superstition by the co-operative force of enlightened and powerful men, and to reform civil society agreeably

to the principles of the spirit of the age. A new Spartacus—this was the name that he assumed in the order—he considered his contemporaries as fellow-slaves whom he was called to emancipate. The fetters of superstition and despotism were to be broken. For so salutary an end all means appeared to him allowable, according to a maxim attributed to the Jesuits, but which has been practised by many others, who had nothing in common with that society. In like manner, he borrowed from the constitution of the Jesuits such regulations as seemed to him adapted to render the members useful instruments of the directing superiors. The general disposition of the polished classes in Germany was so favourable to these ideas that the order, begun by the founder with a few students, soon numbered thousands of members. The bold scheme of the Ingolstadt professor to reduce to subjection the learned, the high, and the mighty of the age, was realised. A Protestant prince of the empire sent, as a novice of the order, confessions of his most secret thoughts to Ingolstadt; and a Göttingen divine of high reputation congratulated himself on having obtained, in the instructions destined for one of the lower grades, a key to the true signification of christianity. From the Catholic clergy also proselytes were gained, and among them Karl von Dalberg, then coadjutor of Mentz.

An authority, however, which possessed no real means of power, and could employ nothing but remonstrances and threats, of course lacked stability. The founder quarrelled with several of the members; they seceded, and he attacked them through the medium of the press. The attention of the Bavarian government was thus drawn to the subject, and from the statements of the seceders it soon gained accurate information of the proceedings of the order. In consequence, the elector, Charles Theodore, issued, on the 24th of June, 1784, a decree suppressing

the societies of Freemasons and Illuminati in his dominions, the former because they had deviated too far from their original object. In the following March, rigorous proceedings were instituted against the Illuminati, after the papers of several members of the order had been seized. Weishaupt deemed it advisable to withdraw from them by flight. He found at Gotha a protector in duke Ernest; for, though Germany was then called an empire, there was no general co-operation in such matters among its members; and the diet, which should have been the organ on this occasion, was paralysed by the misunderstanding between Austria and Prussia. The Bavarian government then caused the papers of the order to be printed, to show the mischievous tendency of its projects; but, as that government had the reputation of bigotry, public opinion saw in the measures against the Illuminati nothing but the usual effects of priestly antipathy, and the documents so prejudical to the order were not duly appreciated. No prince of any importance was induced to notice the affair or to search for Illuminati in his own states. Such was the confidence in the military force and in the regularity of the administrative machine, that rulers feared no real danger for their authority. Besides, the principles and doctrines of the Illuminati were essentially the same as the most favourite writers of France had enunciated in all sorts of forms, to the joy and admiration of the German courts. It is well known that several of these courts kept agents in Paris to listen to the conversations of the encyclopedists and beaux-esprits, not as a warning, but for the amusement of the great.

The revolution broke out, and produced a change in ideas. The courts learned with terror that the duke of Orleans, to whom they attributed a far greater share in public events than belonged to him, was grandmaster of

the freemasons in France; and they were still more struck when they discovered in the speeches and the deeds of the Jacobins those principles which a few years before had not been deemed worthy of notice in the documents relative to the order of the Illuminati. These principles were the expression of a spirit which had operated in almost all ages in single individuals, but in the eighteenth had seized the master-minds upon thrones, and been elevated by their aid into the prevailing spirit of the time. The lively interest with which most enlightened heads embraced the ideas of the revolution was, therefore, not produced by the secret societies, but these were themselves the offspring and the instruments of the spirit of the age. No sooner had this opinion found acceptance—and the great readily adopted it, that they might not be forced to condemn themselves—the next consequence was that the numerous members of the orders, and likewise the multitude of partisans of the new state of things, became suspected as opponents of the revived ancient system. And, in truth, the conjecture was not unfounded that the friends of innovation would not be the most useful servants under this change.

As the sovereigns sought to discover their adversaries, a system of secret espionnage, previously unknown, was formed in most of the countries of Germany, which kept an eye upon the polished classes in particular, and was extremely annoying. In Austria, too, the restrictions on the liberty of speech and of the press, enforced under Joseph II., were painfully felt, though, ten years before, under Maria Theresa, similar restrictions had existed; and Leopold II., notwithstanding the fear of the Jacobins which equivocal servants strove to keep up in his mind, still displayed the same mild and liberal spirit which he had shown in his administration of Tuscany. In a circular, he alleged in excuse for the secret police, recently

introduced, that it was an institution required by the circumstances of the times for the preservation of the public peace and security, and expressed his abhorrence of the practice of listening to private conversations, which was contrary to his intentions. Though many lists of alleged Jacobins were submitted to him, yet no persecution of the suspected persons took place, and those who suffered through loss of place had more reason to blame their own indiscretion than the sovereign.

The same moderation guided Leopold's foreign policy. The decree of the National Assembly, passed on the 4th of August, 1789, suppressing all feudal rights and privileges, extended to those of such members of the German empire as had possessions in provinces ceded by old treaties to France — Alsace, Franche-Comté, Lorraine, and Hainault: these were the electors of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne, the Teutonic Order, the bishops of Strasburg, Spire, and Basle, the dukes of Deuxponts and Würtemberg, the princes of Hesse-Darmstadt, Baden, Nassau, Leiningen, and Löwenstein. These princes maintained that the Assembly had no authority to abolish their rights, which were under the guarantee of the empire; they refused the pecuniary compensation which was offered them, and preferred their complaints to the emperor and the empire; upon which Leopold, on the 14th of December, 1790, addressed a letter to the king of France, and expressed his determination to uphold the arrangements established by treaties. But this was done in an extremely mild tone. In this letter, written in Latin, the French nation was called the particular friend of the emperor—inclyta natio Gallica, nobis amicissima: and, subsequently, the violent declarations proposed by the princes interested to be issued on the part of the empire found no zealous supporter in Leopold, who rightly conceived that the possessions of foreign princes situated in France must

be liable to legislative changes as well as the estates of the native nobility. It was in general the least important who would not yield to the force of circumstances, and insisted on the peremptory rejection of the most reasonable demands, if they had any sort of relation to the revolution.

The most striking instance of this kind was the conduct of the prince-bishop of Liege. In this territory, then belonging to Germany, the ancient constitution, founded on a fundamental compact of 1316, had been changed in 1684 by a bishop with the aid of foreign troops, and a regulation introduced by which the influence of the states on the affairs of the country was much limited. About the time that the ferment commenced in France, disputes arose in Liege between the bishop and the states, on the question whether the former was authorised to grant permission for the establishment of a gaming-house in the celebrated watering-place, Spa, without the consent of the states. Other prerogatives of the bishop were soon attacked, and at length, also, the exemption of the clergy from taxes. Alarmed by the commotions of the people, and by what was passing at the same time in France, the bishop gave way, and himself exhorted the clergy to renounce their privileges, convoked the states for the purpose of adopting new regulations relative to imposts, assented to the abolition of the regulation of 1684, and confirmed by his own signature the new officers elected in consequence of this change. But, on the very same day (August 27, 1789) that he exhorted the magistrates to the faithful performance of their functions at the approaching diet, he proceeded clandestinely from his country-seat at Serving to the abbey of St. Maximin near Triers, and immediately afterwards a mandate was issued by the imperial chancery at Wetzlar, declaring the occurrences at Liege a disturbance of the public peace, and charging the di-

recting princes of the circle of Westphalia to reduce the rebels by force, and to replace things on their former footing.

The king of Prussia, as duke of Cleve, was one of these princes. He took a more temperate view of the matter than the chancery, and though he, in conjunction with the Palatinate and Münster, set troops in motion, still the Prussian envoy, Dohm, entered into negociation with the patriots of Liege, promised that the ancient constitution subsisting previously to 1684 should be restored, and prevailed upon them to suffer the troops to enter the town and citadel without resistance. But, in a second mandate of the 4th of December, the imperial chancery disavowed the concession made by Dohm, and insisted on the unconditional re-establishment of the regulation of 1684. Prussia now withdrew her troops; the people of Liege again flew to arms, and drove out of the country the rest of the corps, to which the electors of Mentz and Triers had sent reinforcements. At the solicitation of the former elector, the king again undertook the office of mediator, and caused terms of accommodation to be proposed. This was done at the diet at Frankfurt, after the previous misunderstanding between Prussia and Austria had been adjusted. On the 31st of October, 1790, the people of Liege accepted the proposed terms, but the bishop and the imperial chancery persisted in their purpose, and the latter, as Prussia declined any interference in the matter, called upon the government in Brussels for the assistance of the circle of Burgundy. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 1791, a corps of Austrian troops joined the contingents of Mentz, the Palatinate, and Münster, and forced them to submit to the authority of their bishop, who severely punished the partizans of the ancient constitution.

At this time, the sympathy of the sovereigns was wholly

engrossed by Louis XVI., and it was not the emperor, his brother-in-law, alone who regarded him as his relative. The progress of the revolution and fear of the machinations of the Jacobins had made a great change in the sentiments of the courts of Europe in the course of the year 1790. Naturally disposed to consider the cause of all thrones as compromised by the humiliation of the most brilliant of them, Leopold and Frederick-William were moreover importuned by the emigrants to destroy by force of arms the power of that sect which was designated as the author of all the mischief. At an interview, which took place in May, 1791, at Mantua, with the count d'Artois and Calonne, Leopold manifested a disposition to adopt this course; but Louis himself, who disapproved his brother's projects, specially commissioned Breteuil to counteract them, and to submit to the emperor, the king of Prussia, and other powers, the plan previously mentioned, according to which a merely threatened but not intended invasion of France was to procure him the character of a mediator between armed Europe and his nation. All at once, contrary to the preconcerted arrangements with the courts, the unfortunate flight was undertaken. The subsequent confinement of the king increased the zeal of the sovereigns in behalf of their brother monarch. Leopold and Frederick William, accompanied by their successors, met the elector of Saxony at Pillnitz in August, 1791, to confer on the joint measures which it would be expedient for them to take. Count d'Artois, too, was there. The fruit of this conference was a declaration of the two monarchs, drawn up in very cautious language, and dated the 27th of August, 1791, "that they regarded the state of the king of France as a subject which must excite equal sympathy in all the sovereigns of Europe; that they hoped that all would, in proportion to their strength, contribute to enable the king

of France to re-establish the monarchical government; and that they, the emperor and the king of Prussia, were, upon this presumption, resolved to commence operations without delay and conjointly, with the requisite force."

The emigrant brothers of the king lost no time in communicating this declaration to the world: it was accompanied by a letter addressed, on the 10th of September, from Coblenz to Louis, in which they protested against all that he had done or should do in his state of restraint for diminishing the hereditary prerogatives of the throne. But as the king, whose hands this letter had probably not yet reached, soon afterwards solemnly accepted the constitution, the two principal powers deemed it advisable to abstain for the present from all direct interference. The emperor answered the letter in which Louis informed him of his acceptance of the constitution, by expressing a hope that the welfare and peace of France would be permanently restored; he received the French ambassador at his court; he acknowledged the new French colours; and he ordered restrictive measures to be pursued against military assemblages, recruiting, equipments, and exercises of the emigrant French, whose numbers were daily increasing in the Netherlands. To the French princes, who complained of the non-fulfilment of the promises made at Mantua and Pillnitz, he replied that "those promises were given under circumstances which, since the voluntary acceptance of the constitution, no longer existed on the part of the king."

The king of Prussia regulated his conduct by that of the imperial court. In the countries bordering upon the Rhine, however, especially in Triers, emigrants continued to assemble, and Russia and Sweden seemed, by sending accredited ministers to the head-quarters at Coblenz, to recognize them as identical with France. Catherine and Gustavus, both professed admirers of French *esprit*, were

now filled with the strongest antipathy to its political offspring, and expressed, without reserve, their intention of combating it. The hatred of both was sincere; but Catherine, so far from spending her own strength in the gratification of hers, artfully calculated on contributing nothing but threats and promises, and on so involving other powers in the realisation of them, that she might execute her plans unmolested behind their backs. The intentions of Gustavus, on the contrary, were perfectly honourable, and even chivalrous. He thought of nothing but marching into France at the head of a combined European army; and, if the emperor should hold back much longer, with twenty thousand Swedes only and the emigrant nobles; and acquiring, as the restorer of the throne, the same glory that his great ancestor had gained in Germany as the saviour of the Protestant church. But, first, it was requisite to see how Louis XVI. and the new National Assembly would agree together.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SECOND OR LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE JACOBINS AND THE FEUILLANTS.

This Assembly, which was composed of 747 members, and met for the first time on the 1st of October, 1791, called itself the Legislative, because it was to devote its attention, in the first place, to legislation for the interior. Elected by the popular party, which was left unopposed, most of the members were advocates and constitutional priests, young in years, who, puffed up by the title of legislators, would not admit any limits to their authority. While the former assembly had comprised some of the wealthiest landholders and many of the noblest names in

the kingdom, this was so remarkable for the scarcity of men of property among its members, that not fifty of them were possessed of £100 a-year. The ancient monarchy, which had had so strong a party in its favour in the first Constituent Assembly, found no partisans in the present. The right side was now formed of the Feuillants, or friends and defenders of the constitutional monarch; opposed to them were the Jacobins, who, with a view to overthrow the constitution and to found a republic upon its ruins, first attacked the sentiments of Louis and his ministers as equivocal and traitorous. Some of them, mostly deputies of the departments of the Garonne and Gironde, after the latter of which their party was subsequently named, proceeded with a certain degree of moderation, while the genuine Jacobins, the offspring of the Paris club, manifested principles tending to the overthrow of the constitution, and many of them a sovereign contempt for morality and integrity. One of the first acts of these legislators was to abolish the terms Sire and Majesty, which the constitution had left to the king, and to decree that thenceforward he should be addressed only in the words: King of the French. But the king's resolution in this case not to open the Assembly in person, and still more the general indignation expressed by the *bourgeoisie* of Paris at this unconstitutional degradation of the king, obliged the legislators to rescind their precipitate decree in their next sitting. Among the middle classes in general, the political infatuation seemed to have subsided. Along with its novelty, the revolution had lost part of its charms: every body was incessantly repeating with joy that it was at an end; and indifference towards the exercise of the rights which it conferred had succeeded the first glowing zeal for the possession of those rights. Out of 83,000 citizens of Paris entitled to vote,

not more than about 10,000 attended the election of a new mayor.

This would have been the time for the king to grapple with that Assembly on the point of infringement of the constitution, to which charge it exposed itself, and to call back the nation, as the defender of its own and his rights, under the banner of royalty. While the legislators, contrary to the spirit and the letter of the constitution, which had been sworn to, not only robbed the nonjuring priests of the salary allotted to them, but also abandoned them to the most arbitrary persecution of every petty official, issued the most cruel decrees against the emigrants, limited civil liberty by the most oppressive restrictions, and wrested from the king one of his prerogatives after another, more than one opportunity for doing so presented itself. Several letters and addresses from whole bodies urged the king not to neglect the duty of defending himself. The Feuillants, led by the former persecutors of that court, Barnave, Duport, Baumetz, the Lameths, and other members of the first Assembly, now sought in the court a support against the persecution which they had to endure from their adversaries. "But," says an historian of monarchical principles, and who had then a seat in the king's council, "in order to take advantage of circumstances, the king should have possessed strength of character, and a council of faithful, experienced, and undaunted ministers, capable of defying all dangers for the salvation of the king and the state. Unfortunately, there were in France very few men with these qualities, which at that time might, I verily believe, have been able to curb and dissolve the Assembly."* Such is the opinion of Bertrand de Molleville. But the wisdom of the council, how transcendent soever, could not have availed, be-

* Bertrand de Molleville, Hist. de la Revol. tom. vi. p. 2.

cause the king adhered to his pernicious habit, as soon as the ministers' backs were turned, of holding a fresh council with the queen and the princess Elisabeth in a familiar circle, in which alone the royal pair discovered its true friends. Indeed, in none of these secret advisers did Louis and Antoinette repose entire confidence; but, tormented by unconquerable apprehensions and ceaseless mistrust, they were continually striving to combine the most incongruous counsels, or to put off the plans and measures proposed to them till there could be no reasonable hope of their producing the desired effect.

The wisest course would have been then, as at an earlier period, a decided and sincere union with the stanch partisans of the constitution; but to these, as to the authors of his misfortunes, Louis had an invincible antipathy: his heart felt refreshed only in the recollection of his old friends, and especially the Polignacs, and in a secret correspondence with them and his elder brother; and his ear was open to none but projectors, who amused him with such plans of counter-revolutions as harmonised with his character. Address and courage, by which so many kings have extricated themselves from the most complicated difficulties, by which Gustavus of Sweden had, twenty years before, and again recently, broken the fetters of a tyrannical nobility, were not the means of the unfortunate Louis; but even integrity and sincerity had been stifled in the sphere of a court-life, and the weakness which had always subjected him to the influence of inferior minds was coupled with an obstinate aversion to a union with energetic men, the only persons who could save him. Hence he added to the many faults which he had already committed the new one of spurning the overtures of the clever and enlightened leaders of the Gironde, who would have joined him at the beginning of 1792, in order to keep the violent Jacobins in check.

Vergniaud, whom the king himself describes in a letter to his brother as a man possessing more real eloquence than Mirabeau, as less presuming in his manners, as having more solid and perhaps more brilliant ideas, and as being not a bad man—this Vergniaud, well known as one of the nobler characters and indisputably the greatest orator that the revolution has produced, submitted to the king, in January, 1792, a plan, which the latter calls in his answer sublime, and to the author of which he gives credit for grand and liberal ideas, but which he rejects because guilt is awake, because conspiracies are forming, and the constitution must necessarily be overthrown. *For that reason* it was absolutely necessary to cling closely to the constitution, which had its imperfections, but was, nevertheless, a saving plank in so tempestuous a season.* Vergniaud had offered him the aid of his party to raise the throne from the state of humiliation to which it had been reduced; but the antipathy of Louis to those whom he once considered as friends of republican ideas was unconquerable; and the personal approximation which the Girondists had sought to effect suggested the unlucky notion, which a glance at his condition might at any moment have confuted, that the heads of that party were striving to gain his favour from a feeling of their own weakness. Writing to the confidant who conducted this negociation, he jests in a triumphant tone at his aversion to these people, who would inspire him with hatred if they were not already objects of his pity.† But even without him the Girondists acquired a preponderance in the Assembly, partly of themselves, and partly through the blunders of the coarse champions of liberty; and Louis now saw those

* Correspond. de Louis XVI. tom. ii. p. 24.

† Ibid. p 29.

whose friendship and alliance he had spurned enrolled among his bitterest enemies. A still more egregious mistake was committed by the court, on occasion of the election of a new mayor of Paris, in the place of Bailly, whose period of service, like that of the commandant-general of the national guard, expired towards the end of the year 1791; when it favoured the election of Petion by its influence with persons of monarchical principles. merely to prevent that of Lafayette, whom it detested, and whom the queen regarded as a faithless traitor and a fanatic partisan. "Lafayette," said she to Bertrand de Molleville, "wishes to be mayor of Paris, only that he may next make himself mayor of the palace. Petion is a Jacobin, but a stupid fellow, and incapable of ever being the head of a party. As mayor, he will be nobody. And then it is possible that the attention we pay him may bring him back to the king. What think you of it?" The minister abstained, under the pretext of duty, from enlightening his mistress as to the danger of her delusion.* The whole royal family might be plunged into perdition before a courtier would have brought a decided contradiction across his lips.

In proportion as the royal family threw discredit on the protestations of attachment to the new order of things which the king was in the habit of making, by their gloomy seclusion, by the aversion and disgust which they manifested on several occasions for the popular leaders, and by the cordiality with which their old friends alone were received at the Tuileries, the orators of the Jacobin party found it more and more easy to inflame the people. For a sovereign brought up in the forms of absolute power, surrounded by a fawning and subtle nobility, to assume all at once the part of a magistrate

* Bertrand de Molleville, Hist. de la Revol. tom. vi. p. 131.

dependent on the people, and to perform that part, in contradiction with his habits and sentiments, to his own and the general satisfaction, was a problem which none but a great mind, favoured by the most fortunate circumstances, could have resolved, and the solution of which was rendered more and more impossible, on the one hand by the egregious blunders of the court, and on the other by the suspicion of the most vigilant party-spirit. The demagogues, to whom the private meetings of the council were no secret, called it the Austrian committee, and asserted that plans were hatched there for subjugating France by the arms of Austria. The king publicly declared the report of the existence of such a committee to be a calumny, and desired that those who propagated it might be brought to trial; but if the term "Austrian" was the offspring of malice, still suspicion had come very near the truth, though the secret wishes and plans of the court of the Tuileries differed widely from the public declarations of the king and his ministers.

The court, in fact, relied for deliverance solely on the armed intervention of the foreign potentates, which the king had solicited, and for procuring which he had accredited baron Breteuil as his agent with unlimited powers. The king had no wish for actual war, but he considered a confederation of the principal sovereigns, supported by a strong army, as the most suitable measure for curbing the party-leaders, and producing a more desirable order of things. So much the more decided was the queen's wish and hope to be delivered by the arrival of the Austrians and Prussians from the clutches of her tormentors—a wish that was the more natural, since she could not step to the window without hearing the most offensive abuse of herself, or seeing priests or officers formerly belonging to the army mal-

treated. Meanwhile, Montmorin, minister for foreign affairs, and his successor de Lessart, were negociating in a totally contrary spirit with the court of Vienna. To contradict the surmise that the king was favouring the increasing assemblage and equipment of the emigrants, and either to deceive or to pacify the parties in the National Assembly, the French minister kept up with prince Kaunitz an interchange of notes, which gradually assumed a more and more hostile character. To the demands addressed on the part of France to the imperial court—that it should not suffer the emigrants to carry on their operations any longer in the German territory; that it should not treat the affair of the princes injured by the new French constitution as a concern of the empire; and that it should furnish explanations respecting the agreements and compacts which it had concluded with reference to France—to these demands Kaunitz replied in the feeling of superior strength, and still more in that of the abhorrence with which the bosom of this octogenarian statesman was filled by the system of the revolution, which had already begun to disgust more liberal minds.

The Feuillants, moreover, had a hand in this correspondence, which was partly a feint and partly earnest. A very circumstantial Austrian note of the 10th of February, 1792, in which the intrigues of the Jacobins were unsparingly exposed, and that party was represented as the real author of the mischief hitherto committed, and further meditated, as the enemy of the king and the constitution, was drawn up by Barnave and Duport, and sent by the queen to the imperial minister at Brussels, but failed of producing the expected effect, that of ruining the Jacobins in the public opinion; it even procured them increased influence, because the pride of the French revolted at the idea of making their

affairs dependent on the judgment of foreign powers; and the Jacobins now appeared to them in the light of true friends of the country, precisely because they were accused by its foes. A nation which had ever cherished so strong a feeling of independence had no need to be led at this period of patriotic effervescence to consider what Germany and Poland had gained by the sympathy of neighbours, in order to recognize any foreign interference as a great national calamity.

All parties were in reality desirous of war. The royalists, together with the emigrants, hoped to gain an easy triumph over the national guard, then to restore by force of arms the influence of the throne, the clergy, and the nobility, and to exterminate the partisans of innovation. The supporters of the constitution regarded war as the only medium for uniting all parties, for consolidating the new order of things, for proving to foreign powers that, if the French nation had lost its military glory in its last wars, it was solely through the fault of the nobles, and for humbling such of them as had emigrated. The Jacobins longed for war, hoping, amidst the confusion which it must occasion, to hurl the king from the throne, and to found the empire of their so-called liberty and equality. Already were plans in agitation for extending it over other countries, and in the first place over the Rhenish provinces of Germany, and by war alone could these be carried into execution. The idea of liberty had set all the more enlightened minds in a ferment, and the illusory image of new happiness had inflamed the imaginations of even the lower classes of the people. The intemperate proceedings of part of the emigrants in those provinces tended also to dispose their inhabitants in favour of new France.

Under these circumstances, as the speeches delivered in the National Assembly became daily more and more

threatening, and troops were already ordered to the frontiers, it was natural that the emperor, who had long been haunted by the idea of a Jacobin propaganda labouring to subvert all the thrones of Europe, should extend the convention with Prussia to a formal defensive treaty, concluded on the 5th of February, 1792, in Berlin, for the preservation of the constitution of the German empire, and make warlike preparations in the Netherlands and the Breisgau. These were quite sufficient to furnish those who wished for war with a pretext for crying out about the danger of an attack on the part of the emperor. The fact alleged by Leopold in reply to the complaints concerning the emigrants, that no armaments were suffered in the Austrian territory, and that he had induced the elector of Treves, and the other states of the empire, to whom these complaints applied, to put an end to the grievance, was treated as a mere evasion; while the assurance which several imperial cities, alarmed by the rumour of a French incursion, hastened to transmit to Paris, that they had obliged all emigrants to quit their territory; and the declaration of the elector of Treves, that he had taken a pattern by the measures adopted in the Netherlands, and most strictly forbidden the arming of the emigrants, served only to increase the arrogance with which Brissot and other members of the diplomatic committee launched out against the emperor and the princes of the empire in the National Assembly. Regardless of the principle introduced into the new constitution, that the French nation renounced all wars for conquest, and never would direct its powers against the freedom of any nation, the party-leaders strove most assiduously to kindle the flames of war.

This disposition was greatly exasperated by the Austrian manifesto of the 19th of February; because it was not only the real Jacobins who took offence at the attacks

upon that party, and because the true origin of that document was no secret. De Lessart, the minister, became the first victim to this diplomatic production. Charged with not having maintained with proper spirit the dignity of the nation in the correspondence which he had carried on, he was placed by a decree in a state of accusation, and sent immediately from the Assembly to the prison of Orleans, to be tried by the national tribunal established there for state-criminals. Duport-Dutertre, keeper of the seals, narrowly escaped the like fate. The consequence was that, between the 16th and the 30th of March, all the ministers resigned.

At this time the meetings of the National Assembly exhibited scenes of the most disgusting vulgarity. During the debate on the charge against de Lessart, three or four hundred members were seen several times running, shouting furiously, waving their hats, brandishing their sticks and their fists at one another, like boxers or gladiators; nay, complaints of blows actually received were made to the president. Still, one of the Feuillants only, named Becquey, had the courage to speak in behalf of de Lessart, and to call the injustice of the proceeding adopted against him by the right name. The few others who spoke for him began, lest they should displease the galleries, with the presupposition of his culpability and the declaration that they meant not to defend him, but that the Assembly ought not, for the sake of its dignity, to hurry the decree.

By this faint-hearted conduct the party of the Feuillants forfeited all respect and influence. In the December preceding, they had been obliged by the Jacobins to abandon the place where their club had hitherto met near the Tuileries; and they had since held their meetings in the Palais Richelieu; but the coldness and apathy which prevailed in them gave promise of no long

duration to the society, which, sensible of its insignificance and impotence, soon afterwards dissolved itself. On the other hand, such was the eagerness to attend the Jacobin club, that it was found necessary to make new regulations to impede admittance, and that the galleries and even the places of the members were always crowded nearly to suffocation.

The king, whose dejection at the recent proceedings in Paris was increased by the tidings of the deaths of the emperor Leopold and Gustavus of Sweden which rapidly succeeded each other, was now aware that it was impossible to admit any other than men of the predominant party into his council; he therefore re-composed his ministry of more or less zealous Jacobins, appointing Duranthon to the department of justice, de Grave, afterwards superseded by Servan, for war, Roland for the interior, Clavière for the finances, and Dumouriez for foreign affairs. Dumouriez, who, in the time of Louis XV. had been employed as agent in Poland and Sweden, and had endeavoured to acquire importance, no matter how, ever since the commencement of the revolution, testified his gratitude to the Jacobins, not only by going to their club in a red cap, their distinctive decoration, borrowed from the galley-slaves at Toulon *, and delivering suitable speeches, but by giving to the correspondence with the court of Vienna a blunt Jacobin tone, which strongly contrasted with diplomatic forms, and seemed to be adopted expressly for the purpose of frustrating all hope of compromise.

* Strictly speaking, from the soldiers of the Swiss regiment of Chateauvieux, who had been concerned in the sanguinary mutiny at Nancy, in 1790, who were therefore sentenced by the authorities of their native country to the galleys, and actually sent to them. At the beginning of 1792, these soldiers were brought back, at the instigation of the Jacobins, as martyrs of liberty, paraded through Paris in triumph, and even honoured with admission to the sittings of the National Assembly.

CHAPTER XIV.

DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST AUSTRIA; INVASION OF THE TUILERIES BY THE POPULACE.

In the month of March, 1792, death removed from the stage two of the most decided enemies of the new French constitution. The emperor Leopold expired unexpectedly on the 1st after a short illness, and Gustavus III. of Sweden perished by the hand of an assassin.

Gustavus, as we have seen, had entered heartily into the alliance formed against France; and, in order to raise an army, which he was to lead in person to co-operate with the emperor and the king of Prussia, he had been obliged to negociate large loans, and to impose heavy taxes on his subjects. The nobles, whom it had been his policy to humble, took advantage of these circumstances to prejudice the minds of the people against the sovereign. A conspiracy was formed for murdering him by several members of the aristocracy, in the hope of recovering for their order its former consequence. At the head of this scheme were counts Horn and Ribbing, the barons Bielke and Pechlin, and lieutenant-colonel Liljehorn. With these was associated Ankarstrom, who had been a page at the court of Sweden, and afterwards served in the army, from which he retired as captain. Of a violent temper and coarse manners, he had conceived a personal hatred against the king, on account of some severities which he had suffered, when his conduct was investigated in 1790 on a charge of high-treason.

The conspirators having in vain sought a favourable opportunity for executing their purpose during the diet held by the king at Gefle, in January, 1792, Ankarstrom, inflamed by revenge, offered himself as the instrument of

the murder; but Ribbing and Horn contested the infamous distinction. They agreed to cast lots, and the lot decided in favour of Ankarstrom. It was publicly known that the king purposed to attend a masquerade, which was to take place on the 15th of March, and the conspirators determined to avail themselves of this occasion to accomplish their design. That same evening, Gustavus received an anonymous note, warning him of his immediate danger from a plot that was laid to take his life, and beseeching him not to go to the masquerade, for which he was preparing, or he would be assassinated. The high-spirited monarch, nephew of Frederick the Great, despised the caution; entered the house about eleven o'clock, with count Essen, went into a box, and observed that his contempt for the note was fully justified, for, if there had been any design against his life, no time could have been more favourable than that moment. He then mingled without apprehension among the company, and was about to retire with the Prussian ambassador, when he was surrounded by several persons in masks. One of them, count Horn, tapped him on the shoulder, saying, "Good night, mask;" and at the same instant Ankarstrom fired a pistol at the king's back, and lodged the contents in his body. A scene of prodigious confusion ensued; amidst the general tumult and alarm, the conspirators had time to retire to other parts of the room, after the assassin had dropped his pistol and a dagger at the feet of the wounded king. The doors were immediately closed; all present were required to unmask, but no person betrayed any particular indications of guilt. No time was lost in conveying the king to his apartments; and the surgeon, after extracting a ball and some slugs, gave hopes of his recovery. These, however, soon proved to be fallacious. Having with perfect presence of mind arranged the most urgent affairs, ap-

pointed his brother, the duke of Sudermania, sole regent, till his son, then a minor, should attain the age of eighteen years, and desired, in his dying moments, that all the conspirators, excepting the perpetrator of his murder, might be pardoned, Gustavus expired on the 29th of March. When his body was opened, a square picce of lead and two rusty nails were found lodged between the ribs.

The regent took the most active measures for the detection of the murderer and his accomplices. Ankarstrom was discovered and apprehended; he confessed his guilt, but refused to betray the other conspirators. On the 29th of April, he received sentence of death, was scourged on several different days with rods, and conveyed in a cart to the scaffold. Horn, Ribbing, and Liljehorn, were banished the country for ever.

Francis, eldest son of the emperor Leopold, and nephew of Marie Antoinette, on ascending the Austrian throne, gave notice to the French ambassador that he should persevere in the engagements contracted by his father with other powers, till France should reinstate the princes having possessions in Lorraine and Alsace in their rights, restore Avignon to the pope, and enable the government to curb those elements of the new constitution which gave alarm to other states. This was a welcome intimation to the French ministers, who were eager for war. After they had obliged the king to write, on the 13th of April, a letter to the new sovereign of Austria entirely in the spirit of the predominant party — it contained, for example, these expressions: "The French have sworn to live free or to die, and I have taken the same oath"—they persuaded him, before any answer could arrive, to go on the 20th to the Assembly; and, after reading the report drawn up by Dumouriez, to propose that war should be declared against Austria. Tears

trickled from the eyes of the unhappy prince, when, with tremulous voice, he uttered the important words. After a short discussion on this proposition in an evening sitting, it was approved by the Assembly, and thus commenced that conflict which was destined for twenty-three years to ravage almost every country in Europe, to consume countless victims, and to produce incalculable convulsions.

Agreeably to a plan framed by Dumouriez, the campaign was opened a few days after the declaration of war, by the entry of several French corps into the Netherlands; but that under Biron, which marched from Valenciennes upon Mons, as well as a second, destined to surprise Lille and Tournay, was put to flight with little effort by the Austrians. To cover their disgrace, the soldiers of this second corps raised the cry of treachery, and murdered their commander and two of his aides-de-camp at Lille in the most barbarous manner. The notions which the foreign courts had conceived of the inferiority of the French troops, and the hopes thence deduced of an easy triumph over them, seemed at the outset to be realized.

Immediately after the scandalous scenes at Lille, marshal Rochambeau, commander-in-chief of the army of the North, resigned; and whole regiments—for instance, the cavalry regiment Royal Allemand — went over to the emigrants. Great numbers of the officers of the native French regiments of the line did the same; for the whole existence of this class had revolved so exclusively around the idea of royalty and the honour flowing from that source, that they could not chime in with the new notions of citizenship and popular rule. The licentiousness and the audacious insubordination of the privates rendered the post of commander most irksome. The emigrants and the allies along with them imagined that, owing to these circumstances, it would be an easy matter for them to

enter Paris as restorers of the old order of things; but they were not aware of the facility with which the common Frenchman is trained for a soldier; neither did they consider what a vast number of clever men had been confined to the lowest ranks by the silly ordinances of St. Germain and Brienne, when ministers of war, and how many of these would now attain their proper places.

The king himself, situated as he was, could not regard this commencement of the war in any other light than as the beginning of his liberation; but, on the other hand, he felt the strongest repugnance to the actual use of arms that were to be borne for his advantage against the French nation, and the greatest apprehension lest, through the participation of the emigrants, the hostilities should assume the shape of a formal civil war. In this anxious mood, he despatched, with the assistance of Bertrand de Molleville, formerly minister of marine, Mallet du Pan, a native of Geneva, who had long been concerned in the publication of royalist journals in Paris, with extraordinary precautions—for it was already extremely dangerous to trust any one with a message — to the emigrants and also to the allied courts; to prevail upon the former not to be the foremost in taking the field, and upon the latter to give to the war the colouring of a mediatory intervention, and to proclaim in a manifesto that their object was to destroy jacobinism, not to attack the French nation. They were to be exhorted to pacify the nation respecting the rumoured plans of conquest; but to declare that all the authorities, particularly the National Assembly and the municipalities, should be held strictly responsible for any harm that might befall the sacred person of the king, the queen, the royal family, or any citizen whatever.

Praiseworthy as were the intentions of Louis in this step, it was easy to guess that the predominant party, if

it should come to the knowledge of these secret proceedings, would consider them as proofs of an understanding with the enemy, and as deeds of the blackest treason. To such a pitch had the mania for liberty arrived, that the tidings of the assassination of the king of Sweden were received with transport, and the base murderer Ankarström, though he had been influenced entirely by aristocratic or personal motives, was compared with the heroes of freedom and the tyrannicides of antiquity.

Amidst this violence of party-spirit, rumours and charges against the king were multiplied and circulated. Brissot descanted in the National Assembly on the activity of the Austrian committee; and Petion, the mayor, caused the national guard to be kept under arms the whole night of the 22nd of May, to prevent the flight which the king was reported to have in contemplation. Troops of the lowest vagabonds, armed with pikes, daggers, and muskets, and paid by the heads of the parties, paraded before the Tuileries, planted the tricoloured flag, together with the jacobin cap, on the entrance to that palace; and, with abuse and execrations of the king and queen, challenged the body-guard to fight. This body-guard of 1800 men, which the constitution granted to the king, was composed by Brissac, its commander, who was zealously attached to the old order of things, of such as shared his sentiments; and the officers, as well as the privates, might possibly sometimes have retorted the insults offered to their master on defenceless and innocent persons. On the 30th of May, Bazire, the Jacobin, preferred in the Assembly a complaint against the guard, which comprised, he said, many suspicious members; he accused them of having drunk anti-constitutional toasts, and moved for their disbanding and the apprehension of Brissac, their commander. A decree to this effect was passed and sent to the king for his confirmation, which he

was prevailed upon by his Jacobin ministers to grant at once, though the constitution gave the Assembly no authority over his body-guard. Brissac was sent before the court at Orleans, and there murdered a few months afterwards with the other prisoners.

In glaring contrast with this timid readiness to give up his defenders, Louis at the same time refused his assent to a decree, enacting that all nonjuring priests should be transported to America; under the idea that he must not add to the faults which he had already committed by confirming the previous laws against the church. Not content with having deprived the king of his body-guard, the Jacobins wished also to withdraw from him that protection which he might expect from the integrity of the national guard of Paris. It was Servan, the minister of war himself, who, without the king's knowledge, proposed to the Assembly the formation of a camp of 20,000 volunteers from the national guard of the department in the vicinity of the capital. But the opposition of the national guard of Paris to this plan, which would have put the city into the power of strange bands absolutely devoted to the Jacobins, prevented the Assembly from coming to a speedy determination: and even among the ministers there was a great difference of opinion. The more moderate, Dumouriez, Duranthon, and Lacoste, were opposed to their colleagues, Servan, Roland, and Clavière, and encouraged the king to refuse his sanction to the camp.

With a presentiment of his dismission, and with a view to prevent it by intimidation, Roland addressed the king in a letter written in the bitterest tone, and full of upbraidings and offensive insinuations, in which he insisted on the confirmation of the decrees relative to the priests and the camp, threatening him, in case of refusal, with an insurrection of the people. This insolence, and the sup-

port of Dumouriez, decided the wavering resolution of Louis, and, on the 13th of June, all three received their dismission. Enraged, they communicated it to the National Assembly, which declared that the dismissed ministers carried with them the regret of the nation. It ordered Roland's letter to be printed and sent to all the departments; while Dumouriez, appointed minister of war instead of Servan, was received with cries of displeasure, when he delivered his first report to the Assembly. In order to regain his popularity, he now urged the king to sanction the two decrees which a few days before he had advised him to reject, threatening to resign in case of refusal. Louis, however, firmly resolved not to incur any further curse in matters of religion, granted him and the two other ministers the dismission which they solicited; on which Dumouriez sought and obtained leave to repair, as lieutenant-general, to his post with the army of the North. A new ministry was formed of men, who, in the dying throes of the monarchy, had no time to acquire any sort of celebrity.

The ferment in Paris increased in consequence of these events. Lafayette, who had taken the command of the army of the North, wrote from the camp of Maubeuge a letter to the National Assembly, in which he animadverted in the strongest terms upon the Jacobin faction, and impressed upon the true friends of liberty the obligation to support the throne and the constitution. In a second letter, he strove to persuade the king that he might rely upon himself and his army against the enemies of order. But the Girondists — for they knew that it was they who were meant by the name of Jacobins — undaunted by the threats of the general, neutralised the first impression, which his representation of their proceedings was capable of making, by the assertion that the letter was not written by him, but manufactured in

Paris; while the king, ever averse to any energetic measure, having the remotest tendency to kindle a civil war, was less disposed at this moment, when foreign powers were sending him deliverers, to throw himself into the arms of a man whom he considered as one of the authors of the misfortunes which had befallen him, and, as an enthusiast, irretrievably entangled in the net of political vagaries.

The Girondists, nevertheless, were induced by the dismissal of the ministers and the apprehensions excited by Lafayette to take measures for their defence. They would not wink at crimes conceived in the spirit of downright Jacobinism, such as Robespierre, Danton, Marat, Collot d'Herbois, Billaud-Varennes, and others preached up nightly at the club; they had not renounced all the principles of right decidedly enough for this; but they wished to alarm the court, and to awe it into submission by a bloodless insurrection. In order to have at their command a force wholly independent of the Paris Jacobins, they sent for the bands formed at Marseilles out of the scum of the population of that great commercial city and sea-port. The first division arrived on the 19th of June, and intimated, in an address to the legislators, that the freemen of the south had come to protect liberty which was in danger. "The day of the nation's wrath is arrived." While the Assembly was consulting upon this address, a mob collected in the garden of the Tuileries loudly declared their determination to penetrate into the palace. "Down with the Veto! Down with the cormorant, who devours twenty-five millions!" The precautionary measures which the municipal authorities would have adopted were frustrated by the mayor, who insisted on the necessity of sparing the rabble, and silencing them by admission into the ranks of the national guard. The inhabitants of the faubourgs St. Antoine

and St. Marceau were in a ferment, which was presently communicated to all the blackguards, vagabonds, and ruffians of the immense city. The National Assembly assumed an air of indifference, partly from fear, partly from a knowledge of what was hatching; and, when informed that the people of the faubourgs intended to present an address to the king *en masse*, they passed to the order of the day.

On the morning of the 20th of June, the inmates of the palace received positive information that it would be attacked by the populace. The minister of the interior induced the directors of the department to send some battalions of the national guard for its defence; the approaches were planted with cannon; the staircases and inner apartments were occupied by the Swiss guards. Louis displayed perfect *sang-froid*, but it was not coupled with energy, resolution, and presence of mind. He calmly awaited the advancing mob; he heard with apathy the clang of arms, and the only order he gave was addressed to the nobles who had assembled for his defence. That order was to withdraw. The armed populace meanwhile addressed themselves first to the National Assembly. Santerre, the brewer, commandant of a battalion of the faubourg St. Antoine, demanded admittance for his men, that they might at the bar refute the calumnies which had the day before been uttered against them. After some discussion, this application was complied with, and the spokesman of the mob read a petition as an expression of their sentiments.

"In the name of the nation, which has its eyes fixed on this city, we assure you, legislators, that the people have elevated themselves to the height of events, and that they will employ great means to avenge the insulted majesty of the nation. These means of severity are justified by the second article of the declaration of the

rights of man, which commands resistance to oppression. The hour is come: blood will flow, but the tree of liberty will flourish in peace. The French people have cast off prejudices; they are resolved to rid themselves of the tyrants who have conspired against them. You know who these tyrants are. The executive power is not in harmony with you: we need no other proof than the dismissal of the patriotic ministers. The happiness of a free people cannot depend on the will, on the obstinacy, of a king. Shall this king have a different will from that of the law? The people wills it, and its head is worth as much as the head of the crowned despot. The weak reed must bend before the sturdy oak. If the executive power is to blame for the inactivity of the armies, let it be annihilated."

The National Assembly replied that the representatives of the nation were one with the nation, and would take the petition into consideration. Santerre thereupon requested permission for the citizens and citizenesses to file off before the legislators, and these would not, or durst not, refuse it. The rabble, amounting to at least 30,000 persons, poured into the hall, accompanied by drums and fifes, and greeted by incessant plaudits from the galleries. A pair of ragged breeches were borne along in front upon the end of a pike, with shouts of *Vivent les sans-culottes!* and on another pike was stuck a bullock's heart dripping with blood, and close to it a board, with the inscription: "Heart of an aristocrat." At the head of the procession were women and boys, with olive-branches and pikes, denoting peace or war, at the option of the enemy, dancing and singing in chorus the *Ca ira*, which afterwards became so famous. Then came the working men of all classes, with wretched muskets, swords, and sharp pieces of iron stuck in the end of thick bludgeons. Battalions of the national guard followed, to prevent tumult. This

motley assemblage was three hours in passing through the hall. "The applause of the galleries," says Thiers, "the shouts of the people, the civic songs, the confused uproar, and the silence of the anxious Assembly, formed an extraordinary scene, and at the same time an afflicting one to the very deputies who viewed the mob as an auxiliary." Santerre delivered a flag to the president in the name of his faubourg, and the latter replied: "The Assembly invites you to continue your march under the ægis of the law."

That march was now directed towards the palace. The national guard seemed disposed for a moment to dispute the entrance of the rabble; but a municipal officer ordered the gate to be opened, and the mob rushed into the courtyard. They broke open the doors of the building, and the king, roused from dinner by the tumult, ordered his apartments to be thrown open, and the frightful petitioners to be admitted. With only a few resolute national guards to protect him from gross ill-usage, Louis, surrounded by the brutal and partly-intoxicated rabble, endured with stoic fortitude all sorts of insults, and exposed himself to the most imminent danger of his life with the highest degree of suffering heroism. The words: "Approval of the decrees or death!" were shouted incessantly, and held up before him, inscribed on white boards in black letters. "This is neither the time nor the way to obtain it of me," replied the king, firmly; "I will do all that the constitution requires."

Seated in a chair, set upon a table, placed by his attendants in the embrasure of a window, and surrounded by his faithful defenders, whose numbers were increased by the arrival of some grenadiers of the guard and officers of the household, he listened to the reading of the petition, and to the address of several fanatical speakers, who descanted at great length on the duties of

his station, mingling threats and reproaches with their harangues. The king's composure forsook him not for a moment. A red cap, the Jacobin emblem of liberty, was presented to him at the point of a pike, and he was required to put it on. A refusal might have been fatal: he complied, and was greeted with universal applause. As he appeared to be oppressed by the heat of the weather and the crowd, one of the half-drunken fellows, who had brought with him a bottle and glass, offered the king some of his liquor. Though Louis had long been apprehensive lest he should be poisoned, he drank without hesitation, and was again loudly applauded. All his anxiety was to restrain any energetic expression of indignation in his defenders; but this forbearance had no other effect than to extinguish every feeling of reverence for majesty which might yet exist. When he repeatedly began to address the tumultuous petitioners, saying, "I have taken an oath to the constitution, and I am determined to maintain it," he was interrupted by numerous voices declaring that the people had heard this tale often enough, and would no longer believe it.

Meanwhile, some of the deputies, apprized of the danger at the palace, had hastened thither, and, addressing the people, enjoined respect for the sovereign; but their remonstrances were equally unheeded. "Silence, ye praters!" was the cry, when Isnard began his address with the words, "Citizens, the country on its knees beseeches you —." Vergniaud made a similar attempt with no better success. In an adjoining apartment, the still more indecorous conduct of a portion of the mob, composed chiefly of women, was met by the queen with indignant courage. When these furies laid before her a hatchet, a bunch of rods, with the inscription, "For Antoinette," and a heart, cut out of raw meat, she declared to them that she lamented the infatuation of the

French people; and when Santerre observed, in an under-tone, "Madam, you have very injudicious friends; I know those who would serve you better," she cast down her eyes, and made no reply. She was no doubt counting the minutes till her real friends in Germany should be in Paris, and chastise the unruly populace.

The length of this extraordinary scene had cooled the rage of the rabble, and it had given place to mere curiosity. Such of the ruffians as had come with murderous intentions could not comprehend the artful plan of the authors of the movement. The royal apartments were so crowded that the deputation of the Assembly had found great difficulty to force their way through the crowd; but on the cry, "The mayor is coming!" they immediately cleared a passage for him. Every head was uncovered, and Petion entered, borne upon the shoulders of two grenadiers. He was greeted with the clashing of pikes: a dead silence ensued. On approaching the king, "Fear nothing, sire," said he, "you are in the midst of your people." Louis, taking the hand of a grenadier, placed it upon his heart, saying: "Feel whether it beats quicker than usual." This noble answer was warmly applauded. Petion, mounted upon a chair, then addressed the mob. "Citizens," said he, "you have presented a petition to the king: you have done what you were authorised to do. The king's answer now could not be considered as free. He is justified in refusing it; but you have no right to remain here against his will. You promised that your conduct should be decent and orderly. You have kept your word. Now go home, and sully not this fair day by any unlawful proceedings. Afford not occasion to your enemies to calumniate you." This harangue produced the desired effect, because the leaders of the populace beheld in Petion the man at whose instigation they had acted. The mob gradually withdrew,

and by eight o'clock the palace was cleared of its unwelcome visiters.

A trait of affection displayed by the king's sister, Elisabeth, amidst the terrors of this trying day, ought not to be passed over in silence. She was the only one of the royal family that had been able to join her brother, to whom she was fondly attached. The people, when they saw her, raised frightful shouts of "There is the Austrian!" mistaking her for the queen. The national guards who surrounded her would have set them right, but the princess generously interposed, saying, "Leave them in their error, and save the queen."

Among the spectators of the humiliating scenes of this day was a young officer, who, in company with a college friend, witnessed them from the terrace in the gardens of the Tuileries. His surprise at the weakness and forbearance shown to the rabble was inexpressible; but when the king appeared at one of the windows facing the gardens, with the red cap on his head, his indignation was unbounded. "What madness!" exclaimed Bonaparte —for he was that young and then unknown officer— "how could they allow these scoundrels to enter! They ought to have blown four or five hundred of them into the air with cannon. The rest would then have taken to their heels." It was not long, as we shall see in the sequel, before he had occasion to put his principles in practice on the same spot.

Whatever might be the alarm excited by the occurrences of this day, the real plan of the authors had miscarried, because the conduct of the king had gradually disarmed the fury with which the rabble had penetrated into the palace: nay, the event seemed rather to produce a contrary effect to that which was intended. On the following day, indignation was loudly expressed in Paris at the disgraceful scenes which had been exhibited in the

meeting-hall of the representatives of the people, and in the palace of the hereditary chief of the nation. An address, signed by twenty thousand of the most respectable citizens of the capital, called for the punishment of the authors of this outrage; and memorials were transmitted from the principal cities of France, containing the strongest assurances of attachment to the constitutional king, and the most decided condemnation of the proceedings of the Jacobin faction. But nothing excited so much attention as the step taken on this occasion by Lafayette, who, on the 28th of June, appeared quite unexpectedly in Paris, to represent to the National Assembly that the recent transactions in Paris were unconstitutional, and had filled his soldiers with patriotic indignation against their authors. He imagined that the court would hail him as its deliverer, and the public opinion as a fit champion for striking a bold stroke at the momentary ascendency of the Jacobin party; he expected, by the impression of his personal appearance, to crush that faction: but the court received him with freezing coldness, and the faction was not afraid of a general without an army. It soon perceived the instability of his position, the weakness and the inadequacy of his means, and asked by what authority he had left his army in the face of the enemy, and come to Paris without permission from the minister of war. In the end, he had reason to rejoice in being relieved by a majority of votes of his friends from a most perilous responsibility, and returned two days afterwards to his post from this bootless errand.

On this, as on all former occasions, the court neglected to take advantage of the favour of the moment, and its adherents completely extinguished the good dispositions of the people by indiscreet praises of the old system, which soon gave back their preponderance to the heads of the opposite party. Two species of fanaticism, that

of unlimited monarchy, which regards the king as a god, and that of the Jacobins, which viewed him as a criminal, were arrayed against each other: the former, brooding over deep plans and calculations, distracted by hopes and fears, without confidence, without courage, without manly energy; the latter wholly intent on one object, the overthrow of its antagonists, and resolved to go any lengths to accomplish that. The real representatives of the latter were not the leading Girondists in the Assembly, but the furious Jacobins of the club; and Robespierre and Danton might be considered as the heads of these. Robespierre, who, since the dissolution of the first National Assembly, held a place in the commune, was, by virtue of the consequence which he derived from his quality of legislator and his obstinate attachment to the most violent measures, the soul of this faction, in which, however, the more daring Danton possessed the semblance of personal superiority and greater influence. Affronted by the manner in which the Girondists had, on the 20th of June, withdrawn from their co-operation, the Jacobins discovered in the incidents of that day at once the half-and-half spirit of their rivals, and the facility with which the Tuileries might be stormed by means of a resolute attack. As it was necessary for this purpose to take into their pay the Marseillois, whom the Girondists had brought to Paris, and likewise the rabble of the faubourgs, the infatuated Orleans was persuaded or forced to make fresh advances of money; nay, large sums were drawn from the court itself by means of a negociation, fertile in promises, which Danton and Fabre d'Eglantine opened with it. But this was probably not the greatest loss which the deluded monarch sustained by the confidence that he placed in those Jacobins, as it served to divert him from seeking other, perhaps yet practicable, means of deliverance.

CHAPTER XV.

STORMING OF THE TUILERIES, AND DEPOSITION OF THE KING.

The tempest gathering over the Tuileries was not unobserved by the friends and the servants of the king, and several persons urged him to leave Paris with his family. On the 25th of June, Bertrand de Molleville submitted to him a plan for re-establishing constitutionally the dismissed life-guards, placing them in and about the palace, drawing 3000 Swiss, lying at Courbevoye, to the stations near Fontainebleau, and then setting out in a private carriage, without parade, for that place, leaving behind, at the same time, a short address to the National Assembly, not to be delivered immediately, purporting that this journey, which, according to the constitution, the king was at liberty to take, was necessary for the benefit of his health and that of his family. Louis disapproved this plan, alleging that "his dignity had not been sufficiently consulted in it"—the very last of all the possible objections which the author could have anticipated. He ascribes it to the influence of the queen, who was persuaded that deliverance was now impossible. In reality, however, she only believed that every plan which required the active co-operation of her husband would miscarry. The renewed proposals of Lafayette, who urged the king to place himself under the protection of the army, were still more decidedly rejected.

Meanwhile, the halls of the National Assembly and of the clubs resounded with declamations, more and more vehement, concerning the increasing dangers of the country, and the understanding between its enemies and the court.

In the beginning of July, the king himself intimated

that there was no longer any doubt of an attack on the part of Prussia, as that power had sent away the French chargé d'affaires, recalled its ambassador, and ordered its troops to march. He proposed, that, instead of a camp near Paris, to which he had refused his assent, a reserve of thirty-four battalions of national guards should be formed at Soissons; he sent to the Assembly several documents transmitted to him from Germany relative to loans projected by the princes, and issued a fresh circular note to all the courts, disclaiming any participation in their proceedings. Lastly, he reminded the Assembly by a message of the near approach of the anniversary of the grand festival of the federation; but, in his sincerity, it was impossible for him to overcome his mistrust; and therefore all those steps, which were set down as purely hypocritical, only served to lower him in the popular opinion, and to facilitate the game which the Jacobins were playing. An abortive attempt to bring Petion to account for the scenes of the 20th of June, which were laid to his charge, served to increase the excitement. The directors of the department suspended him and his colleague Manuel from their offices; the king confirmed this sentence, and the National Assembly reversed it without hesitation.

The following day was the anniversary of the federation, which, under these circumstances, appeared like a triumph of the mayor over the king. Though the latter had refused his sanction to the federative camp near Paris, several thousand federalists, principally from the cities of the South, had nevertheless assembled, alleging that they had considered the refusal of the king as impossible. Those from Marseilles delivered an address in the name of their municipality, in which they proposed, without circumlocution, that royalty should be abolished, and that the executive, as well as the legislative and the

judicial power, should be appointed and renewed by the people. The populace passed the spot in the Champ de Mars, allotted to the court, with shouts of "*Vive* Petion! Down with the Veto! down with Lafayette!" A few faint voices only were raised in favour of the king. The eyes of the queen, inflamed with weeping, betrayed the state of her mind at this her last appearance in the splendour of royalty. Louis exhibited his ordinary unruffled composure. Instead of pronouncing the oath in his place, as he did the first time, he walked to the other side of the Champ de Mars, to take it at the altar of the country. A guard of grenadiers cleared a way for him through the crowd, and a number of boys ran shouting after him. "I watched from a distance," says an eye-witness of this day, "his powdered hair amidst so many dark heads. His coat, embroidered as formerly, contrasted with the dress of the populace who crowded around him. When he ascended the steps of the altar, you might fancy that you beheld the lamb going voluntarily to the sacrifice. He came down again and returned through the confused masses to his wife and children. After this day he was seen no more by the people till he appeared on the scaffold."*

The ferment in the capital, occasioned by the approach of the enemy, mistrust of the king, and the machinations directed by the different parties against each other, was increased by two manifestoes issued at Coblentz, on the 25th and 27th of July, by the Duke of Brunswick, as commander in chief of the allied forces. These papers, written at least in part by emigrants,† might perhaps

* Madame de Stael, Considerations, &c., ii., 48.

† According to the *Memoires d'un homme d'état*, i., 406, the actual writer was a marquis de Limon, formerly intendant of the duke of Orleans, and a zealous partisan of the revolution, afterwards its stanch opponent. The duke of Brunswick was not satisfied with the form and

have attained their object—to strike terror into the predominant faction—had the allies been in the environs of Paris to give weight to their threats: but, promulgated at a distance, that which was designed to produce fear only served to exasperate the popular and party-spirit. "The national guards who should bear arms against the troops about to enter France were to be treated as rebels. The city of Paris and all its inhabitants without distinction were to submit without delay to the king, restore him to liberty without any restriction, and thereby assure him, and all the persons belonging to the royal family, of that inviolability and respect which the law of nature and nations requires from subjects towards their sovereign. All the members of the National Assembly, the directors of the departments, the municipalities, the Parisian national guard, and all authorities generally, were to be held responsible with their lives for any mischief, and treated conformably to the laws of war, without hope of mercy. If the palace of the Tuileries were stormed or attacked, if the least violence were exercised, or any insult whatsoever offered to the king and his family, their majesties [of Austria and Prussia] threatened to take signal and ever-memorable vengeance, to give up the city to military execution and total destruction, and to inflict condign punishment on the rebellious perpetrators of such enormities." In the second manifesto, the duke added the declaration that, in case the king or his family should be carried off from Paris, all the places which had not opposed his abduction, as he passed through them, should be subjected to the fate denounced against Paris, and the route taken by the robbers should be marked by an uninterrupted series of examples of punishment. Very

matter of these documents, but as they had been already approved by the monarchs, he did not venture to express his opinion, and merely softened some expressions, which were subsequently restored.

long declarations, of a similar purport, were issued by the princes. In vain did the king himself give intimation of these proceedings to the National Assembly, and disclaim all concurrence in the principles laid down in those documents. It was too self-evident that, in his unfortunate situation, he must be a friend to the enemy; and addresses poured in soliciting his deposition. "Liberty and the country," they argued, "are threatened by foreign armies, which call themselves the protectors and allies of Louis; consequently he is their accomplice, and he must be removed from his place, that he may not have it in his power to paralyse the measures of defence as he has hitherto done."

It was chiefly the Girondists, Brissot, Isnard, Gensonné, and Vergniaud, who introduced these assertions in long and pompous speeches in the National Assembly, for the purpose of effecting the deposition of the king and the establishment of a republic. The Jacobins talked less, but they bestirred themselves the more energetically to accomplish their purpose, that of transferring all political power to the hands of their leaders. While the Girondists were making fine speeches, the Jacobins were deliberating in secret committee how to bring about on a certain day a grand attack on the Tuileries, and by storming that palace to demolish completely the already tottering throne. Fresh bands of Marsellois had marched to Paris; and Petion, though not an accomplice of the conspirators, served as a blind tool to promote their plans: for, out of revenge against the court and to increase his own importance, he suffered all the materials for the insurrection to be collected before his face.

In the palace also there existed a secret committee, in which the king consulted with Bertrand, Montmorin, Malouet, and a few other servants who remained faithful

to him, on the means of his deliverance. Bertrand projected plans for flight, one after another; but they were all frustrated by the king's irresolution. "Their majesties will reserve these expedients for the last extremity," was the reply given by Louis, on the 1st of August, to a well contrived scheme and ready for execution, according to which he was to attempt to reach the castle of Gaillon, in Normandy. The king suffered himself to be influenced by the queen, as she was by her aversion to the duke de Liancourt, who commanded that part of Normandy. "Bertrand has not considered," said she, "that his plan would throw us into the hands of the constitutionalists." She reckoned too confidently upon seeing the duke of Brunswick enter Paris very soon at the head of the Prussian army. Another plan, for proceeding first to Compiegne and thence to the frontiers of the Netherlands, was communicated through the loquacity of one who was to assist in its execution to a Brussels newspaper-writer. Still less was it to be expected that Lafayette's proposals would be adopted. The historian of the court is of opinion that this general ought, even without waiting for the sanction of the king, to have led his army to Paris; but, fronting the enemy, as it then was, would it have followed him? It would almost appear to have been the intention of the Girondists and the Jacobins to urge him to this extreme step; for they strove to get a decree of accusation passed against him, but it was rejected by a great majority of votes. Even the united force of the two principal factions was too weak to overthrow the man whom public opinion declared to be a supporter of the constitution, a sincere friend of liberty: the frogs of the Plain—such was the name given to a considerable number of old, honest, timid deputies, who had chosen their place in the centre between the two par-

ties — saved him by the preponderance of their voices. But the king had no such support.

At length it became certain that an attack would be made on the Tuileries in the night of the 9th of August; and the committee appointed at the desire of the king adopted measures of defence. On that day sixteen battalions of the national guard, reinforced by eight or nine hundred Swiss drawn from the environs, occupied the approaches to the palace, and appeared ready to protect it against the hordes of the Jacobins. Mandat, commandant of the national guards, formerly an officer of the French guard, had made the most judicious dispositions: he had posted a strong party with cannon on the Pont Neuf, to cut off the communication between the two dangerous faubourgs, St. Antoine and St. Marceau, and obliged Petion, when he came to inspect the preparations, to give him a written authority for repelling force by force. A number of nobles and ci-devant officers likewise assembled in the palace for the defence of the king. Midnight arrived. A cannon was fired, the alarm-bell was rung, and the generale beat in every quarter of Paris, and the insurgents, whose professed object was to depose the king, assembled in great force at their different rallying points. The incessant clang of the tocsin, the rolling of the drums, the rattling of artillery and ammunition waggons, the shouts of the insurgents, and the march of columns, during that dreadful night, produced in Paris a horror and consternation not to be described.

While all the well-disposed citizens were under arms, between five and six hundred Jacobins distributed themselves in the meeting-halls of the sections, declared that they were deputies of the people, displaced all the members of the municipality, excepting Petion, Danton, and Manuel, and appointed a new one consisting of 192 persons. These, accompanied by their electors, repaired

to the Hotel de Ville, acquainted the authorities assembled there with the will of the sovereign people, and drove out those who made any opposition. By this unexampled usurpation, the magisterial authority over the capital was wrested from those mostly respectable men to whom it had been committed by their fellow-citizens, and placed in the hands of furious partisans.

The first thing that they did was to order the officer who occupied the Pont Neuf to quit that post, in order to open the route across the bridge to the populace of the suburbs, the Marseillois, and the other paid ruffians; the second, to summon Mandat to the Hotel de Ville. On entering the hall, he beheld strange faces; he was overwhelmed with questions concerning his dispositions, and presently with abuse. He was seized, led away, and cut down upon the steps. The defenders of the Tuileries were now without leader, without plan, without purpose. Mandat had taken with him the authority given by the mayor; and, under the idea that he should return immediately, he had not transferred the command to any other officer. Nevertheless, when, about five o'clock in the morning of the 10th, the king, accompanied by his family and several staff-officers, visited the posts in front of the palace, he was cheered with loud shouts by some of the battalions: some were silent, while others, with the artillerymen, cried *Vive la nation!* Even in this emergency, a king who would have taken the lead might have produced a very different result: and Louis, though no warrior, no hero, ought to have exerted himself with manly resolution to defend his wife and children; but he was endowed only with courage to suffer.

While all was despondency and irresolution at the palace, the insurgents proceeded with energy in the prosecution of their plans. They forced the arsenal and distributed the arms found there among the mob. A column

of 15,000 men from the faubourg St. Antoine, and that of St. Marceau, 5000 strong, set out for the palace; and their numbers kept increasing on the road. The communication between the opposite banks of the river was again open, in consequence of the removal of the post stationed on the Pont Neuf; and it was not long before the advanced guard of the insurgents, composed chiefly of the Marseillois, reached the Place du Caroussel, in front of the Tuileries, which they occupied, with their cannon directed against the palace. The shouts, the confusion, were terrific; and the mob was ready to break in at any moment.

The Assembly had met on the first alarm. Roederer, procureur-syndic, applied to it for authority to treat with the insurgents, but his petition was disregarded. He then addressed himself to the national guard, but found only in a small proportion of them any disposition to defend the throne, and repaired in dismay to the palace. The king was sitting in council with the queen and his ministers, surrounded by about two hundred gentlemen and national guards.

Roederer, with some other members of the directory of the department, entered and declared that "the danger was most imminent; that the national guards were on the point of joining the assailants; and that the king and his family could not escape certain death but by seeking refuge in the bosom of the National Assembly." The queen, conceiving that the object of this proposal was no other than to separate the king from his faithful servants, and to put him completely into the power of the Assembly, replied with warmth: "We will not leave the palace; they shall nail me to the wall first!" Louis and the ministers admitted that she was in the right; but unluckily, she was herself irresolute, for when Roederer continued, "A minute's longer delay, and I cannot answer for the

lives of your majesties, your children, and all your faithful servants here—" she declared herself ready to make even this last sacrifice. "Well then," said the king, "let us go;" and turning to his defenders, he observed, "there is nothing more to be done here." He then proceeded with his wife, his sister, his children, and some servants, through the long suite of rooms, and the dense body of those who had come to protect him from the violence of the people, without leaving them any order what to do—for the casual remark mentioned above was heard only by the nobles immediately about him. The hapless family descended the steps of the palace, and, escorted by Swiss and national guards, along the terrace of the Feuillants, reached the entrance to the hall of the Assembly. Here the populace refused them a passage; and, assailed with the grossest abuse and threats, they were obliged to wait till a deputation sent by the Assembly to meet the king—the last honour that was paid him—cleared the way. "I am come," said Louis, on entering, "to prevent a great crime. I think that I cannot be safer any where than in your midst." The president (Vergniaud) replied, that he might rely on the firmness of the Assembly, all the members of which had sworn to die in defence of the rights of the people and of the constituted authorities. The king seated himself in an arm-chair on the left of the president, which he was accustomed to occupy: but, on the remark of some of the members that the Assembly could not deliberate in the presence of the king, confused cries were raised, "To the bar! To the ministers' bench!" At length it was agreed that the reporter's box behind the president should be allotted to the royal family; the iron railing in front of it being previously removed that, in case of a forcible entry of the rabble, the unfortunate monarch and his family might take shelter without impediment in the Assembly.

Thus far the Jacobins had failed to accomplish their purpose: nothing had yet occurred to afford a pretext for treating Louis as a prisoner, as a criminal. All at once, the thunder of cannon and a brisk fire of small arms were heard; and the accusation of civil war, the phantom which had thus far paralysed all his measures and cut him off from all hope of deliverance, suddenly stood before him in its so long dreaded reality. On leaving the palace, he had omitted to give its defenders any precise order to retire. It is true that neither for the national guard nor for the royalists was this order necessary. The former, remarking that it was their duty to defend the person and family of the king, but not the walls of his palace, quitted their posts, and part of them joined the federalists; the royalists had withdrawn immediately after the king: while the Swiss, regular soldiers, and accustomed to strict discipline, waited for orders how to act. In this uncertainty, a body of Marseillois fell upon the party posted at the foot of the grand staircase, pulled down five men out of the ranks with long fire-hooks, and knocked them on the head with bludgeons and the but-ends of muskets, before the faces of their comrades. Enraged at this sight, the soldiers fired upon the rebels, several of whom dropped dead or wounded; the others fled, throwing away their arms, and leaving behind their cannon. In a few minutes, the court of the palace and the Place du Carroussel were cleared of the rabble, which showed here, as on so many other occasions, that it is not really formidable unless to the timid and the defenceless. A still more numerous mob, which assaulted the palace on another side, was in like manner repulsed. It was the fate of Louis that his benevolence contributed invariably to the destruction of the good and the triumph of the unprincipled. As soon as the state of the combat was known in the Assembly, part of the deputies cast furious

looks at the king, and one of them expressed indignation that the Swiss should have been ordered to slaughter the people. One of the two ministers who had accompanied the king asserted the contrary: Louis himself declared aloud that he had forbidden all firing, and immediately sent off one of his attendants to the defenders of the palace. Proceeding through the garden to the terrace, this man called out to the 200 Swiss posted there, and bade them in the king's name to come instantly to the National Assembly. They obeyed, and for a moment the legislators imagined that they had been put into the power of the king. Louis was too much alarmed himself to notice their terror, and issued only such orders as they dictated.

The access to the palace on the side next to the garden was now unobstructed. While the bands of the Jacobins, headed by Westermann, a German, renewed the attack in front, its defenders were taken in rear and overpowered. Eighty Swiss gained the great staircase, and there made a determined resistance till they had perished to the last man. The rabble now rushed up, and all whom they found alive were slaughtered without mercy. Some of the Swiss were flung alive out of the windows, and caught upon the pikes of the insurgents below; others were dragged from their hiding-places and butchered. The fugitives were pursued into the gardens of the palace by the pikemen of the faubourgs, and put to death without mercy under the trees, among the fountains, and at the foot of the statues. It is related as an extraordinary instance of taste for art mingled with revolutionary cruelty, that some of the unfortunate creatures having climbed up the marble monuments which adorn those gardens, the insurgents would not fire at them, lest they should injure the sculptures, but pricked them with their bayonets till they dropped, and then

despatched them. Such as escaped were betrayed by their red uniform to their pursuers; and so great was the fury of the mob that several persons, and even some of the federalists from Brest, were beaten to death in the streets, being mistaken for Swiss, because they wore clothes of that colour. Thus fell the greater part of those brave men, who, directed by intelligence and spirit, might have protected the king and his family from the assault of the cowardly rabble—a useless sacrifice to the irresolution and helplessness of a sovereign who knew no more how to defend his life than his crown against robbers and rebels. Along with the Swiss, those inhabitants of the palace who had not fled were slaughtered without distinction of age or sex, chamberlains and marechaux de cour, as well as scullions and porters. Every place was drenched with blood and strewed with naked bodies, stripped and horribly mutilated by furies in the shape of women. When there were no more victims to butcher, the ruffians fell to plundering; and in a few hours every apartment in the palace was transformed into a scene of devastation and horror.

Meanwhile, the king, in the bosom of the National Assembly, was sustaining a heavier loss than that of all he had left behind in the Tuileries. At the commencement of the combat raging so near them, the first feeling of these legislators, who had so often sworn to die for the constitution, was an undefined panic fear; the second, dread of the conquering court. So much the greater was their arrogance after the final victory of the people. The Jacobins were overjoyed at their success, for they were the planners and directors of the proceedings of that day. The Girondists concurred in the exultation, though the turn which the affair had taken was not precisely what they wished. According to their calculation, the king should have been deprived of his office with a certain

formality; and, in transferring it to the heir to the throne, the authority together with the regency should have been placed in their hands. Things had turned out otherwise, and fear subdued their opposition. Troop after troop of ragamuffins entered, and demanded the deposition of the treacherous monarch who had leagued with foreign powers for the ruin of the French people, and now shed the blood of the patriots. These speakers were silenced by pathetic words, and a new oath was pronounced unanimously by all the deputies that they would save the country. At length came a deputation of the new municipality, and informed the Assembly that the commune had chosen fresh officers, placed the armed force under the command of Santerre, and resolved, in regard to all extraordinary measures that might be required for the welfare of France, to acknowledge no other judges than the French people in their primary assemblies. The National Assembly was weak enough to reply in laudatory terms and with demonstrations of applause. At this moment it relinquished the reins of authority which it had grasped, and they were seized by more daring hands. The constitution, so often sworn, ceased to be mentioned, and nothing was henceforth talked of but liberty and equality, the watchword of the Jacobins. The Assembly swore to maintain liberty and equality unto death, and issued a decree by virtue of which the French people was to form a National Convention, the head of the executive power to be deposed from his office, as having forfeited the confidence of the nation, and every resolution to be valid without his sanction, and to be carried into effect by an executive council. Roland, Clavière, and Servan, were reinstated in their former posts, and the ministry of justice was given to the terrible Danton.

Leaning on the cornice of his box, Louis listened to

the framing and discussion of this decree without the slightest change of countenance; but in his deplorable situation a less impassible mind might have considered the loss of so unenviable a crown as the less evil. The heat was intense; and, pent up in a close box, without food or refreshment of any kind, the unfortunate family was obliged to listen to all the reproaches, calumnies, and threats, which were poured forth against it. "All the blood spilt this day, all the misery of the country"—said among others the ex-Capuchin Chabot—"are owing to the perjury and faithlessness of that traitor," at the same time pointing to the king. The intelligence of the murder of their most devoted servants, anxiety for the fate of so many friends of both sexes whom they had left in the palace, their own danger, and the prospect of the future opened to their view, concurred to render the stay of the royal personages in that narrow cage most distressing. After sixteen agonizing hours, they were conducted into the humble apartments contiguous to the hall of the Assembly, occupied by its architect, to repose for the night. On the following morning, as the slaughter still continued, the national guard came at nine o'clock to conduct them back to their close prison, that in the presence of the legislators they might enjoy the protection of the laws. Such was the course pursued for three days.

According to the first resolution, the Luxembourg palace, with an allowance of 500,000 francs, was to be assigned to the royal family, who anxiously awaited the moment of their removal; but the municipality, in which all power was now vested, raised difficulties, and the Assembly determined that the king should reside *ad interim* in the palace of the minister of justice. The municipality was not satisfied with this arrangement. Manuel declared in its name that it could not answer for the safe custody of the king in any private house, surrounded by

other houses, but only in the tower of the Temple; and the impotent Assembly was obliged, after vain remonstrances, to forego its resolution, and to submit to the will of the municipality. Accordingly, in the afternoon of the 13th of August, the king and his family were conveyed in two carriages to the tower of the Temple, which five centuries before had served as a prison for its builders, the Knights Templars, and from which those victims of the tyranny of Philip the Fair had been taken to die. On the way, Petion, who was in the same carriage with the king, ordered the driver to stop in the Place Vendome, that he might show him the demolished statue of Louis XIV.; for all monuments and works of art commemorative of kings or monarchy were, by a resolution of the sections, devoted to destruction. Even the statue of the bepraised Henry IV., on the Pont Neuf, had not escaped this fate, and amid cries of "Ay, he was indeed a king!" it was overthrown and dashed in pieces. But the composure of Louis was not to be disturbed by any sight. With a smile, he reminded the mayor, on entering the carriage crowded with persons, of a similar journey which they had made together from Varennes; and the prison which received him appeared a welcome refuge after the misery of the last days. His family and a few faithful domestics were still left him; and the queen was still allowed the society of her friends, the princess de Lamballe and Madame de Tourzel, the gouvernante of her children, and the attendance of the four ladies of her bedchamber.

She was not long permitted to enjoy this indulgence: the municipality decreed her separation from these her faithful friends and attendants; and, by a refinement in cruelty, the unfortunate family was roused at two in the morning of the 18th of August by a party of the national guard sent to conduct those ladies to other prisons. The

agony of grief occasioned by this parting, aggravated by a feeling that it was for ever, touched even the ministers of the ruthless order of the municipality. The princess de Lamballe, who, from affectionate attachment to the queen, had voluntarily accompanied her to the Temple, and whose loveliness had been the admiration of all Paris, was carried to the filthiest and most disgusting of the prisons of the capital, that of the hotel de la Force, as a prelude to the tragedy that was preparing.

Meanwhile, the Assembly commissioned Condorcet to draw up a memorial in justification of the bloody day, and of the course adopted in regard to the king, and appointed commissioners to carry it into the departments and to the armies. Every thing depended on the temper in which these last would receive the tidings of the overthrow of the constitution and the supremacy of the Jacobins. Lafayette had declared himself too decidedly against that faction for them to have any doubts respecting his sentiments. The half-measure which he had taken after the 20th of June diminished their fears of what he might be able to do. France had then four armies: the army of the South, towards Savoy, under general Montesquiou; the army of the North, under marshal Luckner; the army of the Ardennes, under Lafayette, whose head-quarters were at Sedan; and that of Flanders, commanded by Arthur Dillon, who had under him generals Dumouriez and Beurnonville. On the 13th of August, as soon as Lafayette had received intelligence of the events in Paris, he assembled the administrative authorities of the department of the Ardennes, and ordered them to seize the pretended commissioners of the National Assembly, which had ceased to have any legal existence. At the same time he issued an order of the day to his army, concluding with the question, whether they would reinstate the heir to the crown in his right, or have

Petion for king. The first impression seemed favourable to his views, and if Lafayette had taken advantage of it, assembled the troops, addressed them, and marched immediately for Paris, he might, perhaps, have succeeded in delivering the king and the National Assembly from their tyrants. Dillon, acting in concert with him, had already issued a similar order of the day; Montesquiou and Luckner would have followed the example, and it might rationally be expected that, if the duke of Brunswick had been apprized of the motives for his march, he would have delayed hostilities and the advance of his army. It is true that, with the mania for liberty which had seized all classes of the nation, the generals could not be expected to retain any great and permanent authority, if doubts of their zeal for the popular party should be instilled into the soldiers. Influenced by this apprehension, Lafayette let slip the moment of possible success, and on the very next day a different disposition prevailed. The soldiers refused to renew the oath for the nation, the law, and the king, and murmured at the arrest at Sedan of the three commissioners sent by the National Assembly. It soon became known that Dumouriez had declared against Dillon, and that he had united the army of that general with his own. The Jacobin club of Sedan also was not idle; and at last Lafayette found his situation so critical that he deemed it advisable to provide for his personal safety and that of his friends.

In the night of the 19th of August, upon pretext of a reconnoissance, he crossed the Austrian frontiers, with part of his staff, among whom were the ex-deputies La Tour Maubourg, Alexander Lameth, and Bureau de Puzy, intending to proceed through Holland to England, and thence to America. But, as they wore the national cockade, they were detained by the Austrians and con-

veyed to Rochefort. By a declaration, in which they professed themselves to be French citizens, who, deprived by circumstances of the liberty to serve their country as they had hitherto done, were desirous to repair to a neutral country, they failed to induce the Austrian generals to allow them to prosecute their journey; and in consequence, Lafayette, with such of his companions as had been members of the Constituent Assembly, were first carried to Luxemburg, afterwards to Wesel, then to Magdeburg, and finally to Ollmütz, and there kept in close confinement. This severe treatment of a man who could not be charged with any crime, but was liable at most to the reproach of erroneous political views, operated to the advantage of the Jacobins, because it shewed what the partisans of the constitution had to expect from the allies, and therefore had the effect of rallying them under the banner of the dominant party. Meanwhile, in Paris, Lafayette, on the same day that he entered the Austrian territory, was placed in a state of accusation as a traitor and conspirator.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SEPTEMBER MASSACRES AND THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

One of the first cares of the Jacobins was the erection of a sanguinary tribunal for the punishment of their adversaries. The chief inquiry was directed against the authors and participators in the defensive measures adopted by the court on the 10th of August, which were now represented as a conspiracy on its part against liberty. As soon as this tribunal met, Manuel ordered the machine for beheading, which had been invented a year before by

Dr. Guillotin, a physician of Paris, or which was rather a modification of an old invention, to be erected in the Place du Carroussel, and to be kept permanently standing there. By means of repeated searches of houses, or domiciliary visits, as they were termed in the jargon of the Jacobins, and by the most rigid closing of all the outlets from Paris, a great number of persons chiefly belonging to the classes of the nobility and clergy were apprehended as suspicious; but, to begin with, only four were executed — de la Porte, intendant of the civil list; colonel Bachmann, of the Swiss guards; general d'Affry, who proved that he had issued no orders; du Rosay, a journalist, and one of those through whom Bertrand de Molleville had hired idlers to raise shouts in favour of the king in the streets, and especially in the galleries of the hall of the Assembly. Bertrand himself escaped the death to which he was destined through the friendship of a surgeon, who received him into his house, which, as the owner was known to be a stanch patriot, was not very strictly searched. The people manifested but little pleasure in these executions; one section of the capital even declared the proceedings of the tyrannical municipality to be arbitrary and illegal; and the intimidated Assembly was thereby encouraged to throw off the yoke which the Jacobin authority had imposed upon it. By a decree of the 30th of August, it dissolved the latter and enjoined the election of a new municipality. But when a deputation of the commune appeared at the bar, and its spokesman, Tallien, appealed to the people, which would find means to support its deliverers, the timorous Assembly gave its assent to the re-election of the members of the dissolved municipality, so that the power remained in the same hands as before.

The news of the entry of the Prussians into Champagne, of the surrender of the fortress of Longwy, and

of the blockade of Verdun, tended to increase the strength of the predominant party. While the royalists feasted themselves with secret hopes of the speedy arrival of their deliverers, and constitutionalists, republicans and Jacobins had no choice but between total destruction and desperate resistance, the direction of public affairs devolved to the latter, as precisely that party, which, from the commencement of the revolution, had, in spite of its inferior number, commanded results by the greatest resolution. Above all scruples and all considerations, recoiling from no crime that could be subservient to their purposes, they now resolved to annihilate their decided enemies by one fearful blow, and to stupify the wavering, or rather all France, so as to make it a blind and will-less tool of their commands. As in them the habit of crime operated like heroism, so fear of the murderous engine of this ruling faction was to supply the place of valour, civic virtue, and patriotism. The dominion of terror, to which threats, accusations, and maltreatment of those professing different sentiments had long been preparing the way, now started into existence in its most terrific form.

On the 2d of September, all the inhabitants of Paris capable of bearing arms were summoned by a resolution of the municipality to meet in the Champ de Mars for the purpose of forming an army of 60,000 men; and a decree of the National Assembly, adopted on the motion of Danton, awarded the punishment of death to all those who should refuse to march against the enemy, or obstruct the measures adopted by the Executive Council. This decree assumed an arbitrary power without parallel over life and death; and no sooner was it passed than the municipality ordered the alarm-bells to be rung, the guns fired, the generale beat, and all horses found in the streets seized and employed in drawing the cannon. All

the citizens were required to march against the enemy, excepting the pikemen, who were kept to defend the capital. The real object, however, of the men of blood was not to expedite the march of the citizens of Paris, but to paralyse all France with terror. "The tocsin," said Danton, "will not be a sound of fear, but an invitation not to be evaded to annihilate the satellites of the despot."

The plan projected by this minister of justice was to put to death all the persons confined in the prisons, either accused or suspected of being adherents to the king and adverse to the revolution; and this plan was carried into execution. After a beginning had been made with several hundred priests, who were seized either at the moment of their intended departure, or had been previously imprisoned, bands of ruffians, led by hired murderers and members of the municipality, repaired to the prisons of the abbey of St. Germain, the hotel de la Force, the Bernardines, the Salpetrière, the Châtelet, the Palace of Justice, and the Bicêtre. In the court of each of these prisons was placed a table, at which members of the municipality took their places as judges, inquiring the names of the prisoners as they were brought out, and examining the lists furnished by Danton, to see which were to be set at liberty and which put to death.

In the court of the Abbaye sat Maillard, who had led the mob of women to Versailles on the 5th of October: he had a sword by his side, and a tricoloured scarf. On the table were confusedly intermingled papers, tobacco-pipes, brandy-bottles, and glasses; and around stood ten or twelve men, without coats, their shirt-sleeves turned up, having white aprons, and naked swords in their hands, and sprinkled from head to foot with blood. When a prisoner was brought forward, three of them held him fast. Maillard asked his name, referred by

torch-light to the list, to see if the mark against it denoted death or release, and, in case of the former, he cried—"Let him go!" This expression was the sentence of death concerted with the murderers, and they executed it at the distance of a few paces.

Such was already the avidity of the populace for sights of blood, that the women of the adjacent quarter of the city made a formal application to the commune for lights to see the massacres. A lamp was in consequence placed near the gate where the victims came forth amidst the shouts of the spectators. Benches also were provided, on one side *pour les messieurs*, and on the other *pour les dames;* and, as each successive prisoner was turned out, yells of joy burst from the multitude, and when he fell they danced like savages around the mangled body. Many of the victims had to endure lingering torments.

Thus the ex-minister Montmorin was impaled while yet half alive and carried to the National Assembly. On the contrary, the same murderers loaded those whom the sanguinary tribunal acquitted by the cry of "*Vive la nation!*" with the tenderest caresses, and expressed the greatest joy at seeing good patriots, who spared them the trouble of dispatching them. Two old men who were doomed in the list to death, Cazotte, well known as an amiable poet, and Sombreuil, governor of the Invalides, were saved by their daughters, who, by their prayers, tears, and filial affection, awakened feelings of humanity in Maillard and his butchers: but the less sensitive municipality caused poor Cazotte to be again apprehended in nine days, and sent by the sanguinary tribunal to the guillotine.

In the prison of la Force was confined the beautiful and amiable princess Lamballe. Here the decree of death ran thus: "Take the prisoner to the Abbaye," upon which the butchers dragged him away to a little

distance, and despatched him with bludgeons and pikes. Such was the fate of the unfortunate princess, whose head, stuck upon a pike, which was half covered by her luxuriant hair, was carried through the streets; while her naked body, mutilated and outraged in a manner abhorrent to manhood and to nature, and which the pen of the historian recoils from describing, was dragged after it. In this, as in many similar scenes of the revolution, the half-tiger, half-monkey character ascribed to his countrymen by Voltaire is most strikingly exemplified. The horrible procession first directed its course to the residence of the aged duke de Penthievre, father-in-law of the victim, and then to the Temple, where part of the rabble, with the head, were admitted into the courtyard; and the royal family was required by the commissioners of the municipality to go to the window. The queen, on being told that it was the head of her friend which was held up before her, sank fainting on the floor; and even Louis expressed his displeasure to the municipal officers. From the Temple the mangled body was dragged to the Palais Royal, and the head was held up to the windows of the duke of Orleans, who was just about to sit down to table, and manifested perfect indifference, without the slightest expression of joy or sorrow at the horrid sight. One of the infernal butchers is related to have boasted of having devoured the heart of the unfortunate princess, whose doom it is further asserted was sealed beforehand by the commissioners of the commune, in compliance with a promise made to Orleans, who had to pay her a life annuity of 300,000 livres.

Nowhere was blood spilt in such profusion as in the hospital of Bicetre, where the murderers, weary of slaughter, at length resorted to the expedient of mowing down the prisoners with cannon in the courtyard. On the most moderate calculation, 5000 perished in that place

alone, while the number of the victims in all the other prisons amounted to no more than about a thousand. Their remains were thrown into trenches prepared beforehand by the municipality for their reception, and their bones, subsequently collected and built up in the catacombs, remain a monument of horrors unparalleled in the history of civilized nations.

Not content with these sacrifices, the municipality addressed a circular to all the communes of France, summoning them to follow its example, and, before the nation marched against the enemy, to put to death the brigands, who, after the departure of the army, designed to fall upon their wives and families. This sanguinary exhortation was a sentence of death on the prisoners in all the communes where the Jacobins had the ascendency: in Rheims, in Meaux, in Lyons, all of them were murdered without exception. The fifty-three persons accused before the great national tribunal at Orleans were fetched away by a band of Marseillois, dragged to Versailles, and there, after being kept in agonizing suspense for several days, despatched, with the exception of six who escaped, by about 70 hired butchers sent expressly for the purpose from Paris. Among them were the ex-ministers de Lessart and Abancourt, the duke de Brissac, commander of the constitutional guard of the king, the bishop of Mende, and others who had formerly possessed considerable influence at court.

In Paris, where upwards of fifty thousand men were enrolled in the national guard, a force specifically destined to quell insurrection and uphold the law, the slaughter continued for five days, from the 2d to the 7th of September; and during all this time not an individual made any attempt to check it — neither Petion the mayor, nor the municipality, nor Danton, minister of justice, nor Santerre the commandant, nor the National Assembly,

stirred in the least. On the 3d, when blood was flowing most copiously, the legislators were discussing the introduction of a new coinage. On the motion of bishop Fauchet, indeed, a deputation was sent to the prisons, but soon returned, because the butchers refused them admittance. At last, the Girondists sought to console themselves with fine phrases. Roland wrote a long letter to the Assembly, in which he seemed rather to approve than to condemn these atrocities. "It consists with the nature of things and of the human heart that a victory won should be attended with some excesses. When the sea is agitated by a vehement tempest, it does not subside till long after the storm is over. One ought, perhaps, to throw a veil over these occurrences. I know that the people combine a sort of justice with their vengeance. They do not take for their victims all that come within the reach of their rage: they direct it against those whom they conceive that the sword of the law has too long spared, and whom the perilous circumstances of the times point out as sacrifices that must speedily be offered up. But I know too that it is easy for villains and traitors to abuse this excitement, and that it ought to be repressed. I know that we owe to all France the assurance that the executive power could neither foresee nor prevent these excesses."

This indiscriminate slaughter of prisoners apprehended on suspicion of royalist opinions, or confined for petty offences, and of patients, for such were many of the victims at the Bicetre, which was an hospital as well as a prison, continued for so many days, was perpetrated by about 300 butchers, not under the influence of any political excitement, but merely for the sake of the wages which they received for their labour. They were paid 24 livres per day, and no secret was made of this circumstance. The accounts of the municipality exhibit

numerous entries of sums paid to these hired murderers; and there exist engagements promising them gratuities, signed by Tallien, Panis, and Sergent.

How easy it would have been for those in authority to stop these sanguinary proceedings is evident from what occurred at the Temple. The municipal officers, having satisfied themselves that the muskets of the soldiers on duty there were charged only with powder, ordered the bayonets to be taken off, that the guard might be the less capable of making an effective resistance. They then fastened a tricoloured ribbon across the gateway, and attached to it a paper requiring the people to respect this boundary line. When the mob arrived at the gate, with the head of the ill-fated princess de Lamballe, they made no attempt to pass this feeble barrier; and a few of them only were admitted, on their application, for the purpose of showing their bleeding trophy to the king and his family.

This fact demonstrates what a contemptible tool, without energy and without will of its own, the populace of Paris could submit to be in the hands of the demagogues. On this subject Peltier observes with equal truth and force—"The populace, when set in motion, slaughters or spares, quaffs blood or talks of humanity, curses or obeys, maltreats or worships, as it is bidden to do: like a puppet, it moves this way or that, according as this or the other thread is pulled."

All power was in fact in the hands of the municipality. Its commissioners repaired to the armies, and issued orders to the generals; a committee of surveillance appointed by it had empowered a number of agents to apprehend suspicious persons, and these again had delegated their powers to others. At all hours of the night, these satellites of Robespierre's, Danton's, and Marat's, broke into houses, and dragged the occupants to prison,

without assigning any reason whatever or informing them what they had to expect. After the massacres of September, Roland found in the prisons five hundred persons apprehended in this arbitrary manner. Vergniaud complained in the National Assembly—"The infatuated Parisians venture to call themselves free. Indeed they are no longer the slaves of crowned tyrants; but now they are the slaves of the basest of men, of the vilest of criminals." Still the Assembly durst not adopt an energetic resolution against these tyrants; it contented itself with declaring the members of the commune responsible for the safety of the prisoners, which, after what had just happened, was saying nothing.

All the effects of the victims sacrificed in the prisons were seized by order of the municipality, and deposited in the warehouses belonging to the committee of surveillance. Neither the Assembly, nor the Convention, nor any other authority, could ever obtain any statement of the amount of this plunder, or how it was disposed of. These mob-magistrates went still further; they sold, by their own authority, the furniture of the great houses on which the national seal had been put, in consequence of the emigration of the proprietors. In the night of the 15th of September, the Garde Meuble in the Tuileries was plundered, and all the crown jewels (valued at 25 million livres, or one million sterling), which, on the deposition of the king, had come into the custody of the Legislative Assembly, disappeared, but not for ever, as Thiers, Alison, and other historians relate. The seals set upon the locks were removed, but no marks of violence appeared on the latter; whence it might be inferred that the jewels were abstracted by the authorities, or with their connivance. One of them is said to have been afterwards seen in the possession of Sergent, a member of the committee, who signed the circular exhorting the

departments to imitate the September massacres in Paris. If, as we suspect, this man is the same with one who calls himself Sergent-Marceau, who admits his having been a municipal officer in Paris, in 1791-2, the public explanation which he gave of this affair, a few years since, may be viewed with suspicion, as merely designed to exculpate himself. His story, however, bears all the marks of authenticity; it seems to be confirmed by subsequent events; and, being moreover extremely interesting, I shall not hesitate to subjoin it.

"The purloining of the crown jewels," says our administrator of police, "which took place soon after the eventful 10th of August, belongs to the history of that epoch, because it then seemed to be connected with public events, and because public opinion, misled perhaps by party-spirit, attributed it to persons (and especially to Camus, keeper of the national archives) whose position ought to have raised them above such a suspicion. Nevertheless, nobody besides myself can furnish any explanation of the circumstances attending that remarkable occurrence. The way in which those jewels were recovered borders on the romantic, and it would not have taken place but for the murderous scenes of the 2d of September, though it must be ascribed immediately to a feeling of gratitude towards myself.

"Near the end of August, 1792, in one of my weekly inspections of the prisons, I was conducted by Richard, gaoler at the Conciergerie, into an apartment in which the criminals sentenced to die were confined. One of them had most earnestly requested to speak to me, as he had a favour to solicit. On entering, I found him shivering with ague: the favour that he had to beg of me was permission to be shaved, an indulgence forbidden by the prison regulations, for reasons that may easily be guessed. 'Only see, sir,' said the unfortunate man, whose words

deeply impressed themselves on my memory, 'only see what a hideous look this long beard gives me. When I am led out to the scaffold, the people will cry—That fellow has the very look of a villain. And yet I am not a villain; I have a good heart, and never injured any man. My offence consists in having only forged bank-notes. Nevertheless, in my last moments none will feel the least pity for me, merely because I am so disfigured by my beard as to look like the most atrocious murderer. Have mercy upon me, and permit me to be shaved! The hair of my head I will trim myself, for I was a ladies' hairdresser. I am not a bad man, you see.' This request, singular as it was, affected me: the looks of the unhappy man, his ague, his fear of death, increased the interest which I felt for him. In short, I allowed him to be shaved, with the observance of the utmost caution. Had I continued in the office which I then held, I should have executed an idea which I then conceived of a chair in which such an operation may be performed without danger. I was curious to see my prisoner on the following day. Still suffering from his complaint, pale as death, but looking clean since the removal of his long beard, he crept from his straw couch to my feet, which he fervently kissed. His lips overflowed with expressions of gratitude. A few days were likely to elapse before his execution, as he had appealed against the sentence.

"The horrible scenes of September meanwhile occurred. Eight or ten days afterwards, one morning, a mulatto woman, a servant to the Jacobin Club, entered my room at the police-office, and cried—'What would you say if I were to put you in the way of finding the crown-jewels? I can do it; for there is a person who wishes to make the disclosure. I referred him to the *Comité des Récherches*, but he is determined to reveal the secret to you alone: he asserts that you have laid him under par-

ticular obligation, and therefore he is anxious that the country should owe the recovery of those treasures to you?'—'Bring him to me forthwith,' I replied, though I put no great faith in the story of the woman. Still I durst not wholly disregard it, as she had the character of a zealous patriot; and she subsequently became a member of a female Jacobin Club, of which Mademoiselle Keralio was president.

"In an hour the mulatto returned, with a man neatly dressed in the uniform of the national guard. 'Here is our man,' said she, leaving him alone with me. '*Monsieur l'Administrateur,*' began the latter, in a low tone, 'I can put the whole of the crown-jewels into your possession; but you must first promise not to betray me.'—'If you render so important a service to the country, what can you have to fear?' I replied. 'You will rather deserve a reward.'—'My name must not be mentioned in this affair; it would endanger my life.'—'Speak out; I give you the most positive assurance of my discretion.'—'Do you really not know me?'—'I cannot recollect to have ever seen you before.'—'Give me your word, as a public officer, that you will not deliver me up.'—'How mysterious! If you had a hand in the robbery, speak; it is in my power to save you.'—'No, sir, I had no hand in it. I am Lamiévette, the ladies' hair-dresser, whom you allowed to be shaved in the Conciergerie. During the massacre in the prison, I was fortunate enough to escape, but the court may claim me at any time, as I have not been pardoned. In the night before my liberation, two fresh prisoners, whom I have never seen since, were brought in; they talked to one another in *argot* (the slang of the Paris thieves), which I understand, and thus I learned that the whole of the jewels were concealed in two holes in the main beam of the ground-floor of

No. ... in the *rue* ..... But,' added he, kissing my hand, 'for Heaven's sake, do not mention my name!'

"I sent immediately to the house described: the whole of the jewels were actually found there, but no traces of the thieves were discovered. The inhabitants of the house appeared not to be at all aware of the riches that were concealed beneath their roof. Meanwhile, Lamiévette was afraid to remain in Paris; and it was agreed between us that his name should be mentioned to none but Petion, the mayor of the city. We then sent him off to the army, where, at our recommendation, he obtained, through the minister at war, a commission in a regiment of the line. He must have fallen, for I never heard of him since. There subsisted at this time a law, which allotted premiums for the recovery of national property that might have been lost during the period of the revolution: the amount of the premium was regulated by the value of the property, and, according to this standard, the claim for the jewels could not have been less than 200,000 francs. When, therefore, the mulatto woman had subsequently heard of Lamiévette's death, she requested me to give her a certificate of her participation in the recovery of the crown-jewels, which she presented to the First Consul. Bonaparte, however, was not disposed to fulfil the obligations imposed on themselves by the authorities of the 10th of August, 1792, for which he felt no partiality, and the woman obtained nothing.*"

It was manifest that the National Assembly had outlived itself, and that it was too weak to cope with Jacobinism. To outward appearance, however, the Girondists

* It is asserted that among these jewels was the famous diamond called the Regent, of such size as to be valued at between £200,000 and £300,000. It weighs 136 carats. This diamond afterwards served to adorn the hilt of Napoleon's sword, and fell, with his carriage, in the evening of the battle of Waterloo, into the hands of the Prussians.

still possessed the ascendency. Almost all of them were in consequence returned to the National Convention by the electoral assemblies of the provinces; for, less magnanimous than their predecessors, the members of the second Assembly left it open for themselves to be re-elected. These elections took place during the September massacres. As the difference between active and non-active citizens was done away with, in Paris the dregs of the populace, entirely under the guidance of the Jacobins, played the principal part: the well-disposed citizens abstained from voting, lest by their opposition they should expose themselves to the suspicion of aristocratic sentiments, which was likely to lead to imprisonment and death. The first person elected was Robespierre, who then recommended several of the Septembrisers, as the authors of the late massacres were denominated, and particularly the detestable Marat. This man, as a member elect of the legislature, continued in his popular publications to preach up murder, plunder, and fire against the aristocrats; comprehending under that term not only the partisans of the old order of things, but the friends of all order whatever, all the adversaries of the most rampant Jacobinism. He attacked the National Assembly, nay, even the National Convention, before it met, as entertaining principles hostile to liberty; and continually insisted on the appointment of Robespierre to be dictator, with unlimited power, as the only way to found true liberty and equality, by exterminating all their open and secret enemies.

Under the protection of this madman, Orleans was also elected a member of the Convention; but he had to purchase this honour by demeaning himself so far as to present a petition to the municipality, praying that it would give him, instead of his aristocratic family name, one which he and his children could bear with honour.

In compliance with this request, the municipality gave him the name of Egalité, at the same time representing to the petitioner the important duties which that significant name imposed upon him. The Palais Royal was henceforth to be called the Garden of the Revolution. But this courting of the favour of the people led the duke no nearer to his original goal; it was not for him but for themselves that Robespierre and Danton destined the dictatorship which they were continually trumpeting forth through Marat. Meanwhile, Orleans and his creatures were spared, partly out of contempt and partly to keep up the illusion; while the Girondists, who designed in good earnest to establish a republic on the model of the ancient states, and with it order, liberty, and the authority of the law, were assailed with the utmost acrimony. Even Petion, who had joined this party, recommended quiet and unity, and at length declared to the municipality that Marat must either be a madman or a villain. He fell out in consequence with Robespierre, and was decried before the people both by him and Marat as a weak-headed, faint-hearted coward. Such were the first steps towards the great struggle that ensued between the two parties which alone were now of any consequence. The Girondists, superior in talents, had the majority of the better part of the nation on their side; the Jacobins, the audacity of crime and the fists of the Paris ragamuffins on theirs: and, to judge from all that had been thus far effected by the element of fear, victory seemed to belong to the latter. The impotence in which the National Assembly lingered on was most ominous for the Girondists, who had taken the lead in it. They hoped however for better fortune from a change of the theatre of the struggle, and longed for the dissolution of the Assembly, in order to commence a new and more energetic public life in the National Convention.

On the 21st of September, this Convention met in the palace of the Tuileries, whither the National Assembly repaired, after concluding their sittings, to conduct it to their hall. When joined by the members of the late legislative body who had been re-elected, the predominance of the Gironde appeared at first sight decisive. Petion was chosen president, and chiefly Girondists were appointed secretaries. But the very first motion made by Manuel, as the spokesman of that party, to assign to the president apartments in the national palace, to give him a body-guard, to oblige all the citizens to stand in his presence, was negatived; and, while it threw upon its author the suspicion of designs hostile to liberty, it gave an advantage to the Jacobins, by affording occasion to one of their party, Collot d'Herbois, to move the abolition of royalty. It was this man, formerly an actor, who by his pointed sally called into existence that hideous caricature, the French republic; and the Girondists joined with secret vexation in the applause with which it was received, for, the more that proposal accorded with the prevailing sentiment, the greater importance it gave to its authors in the eyes of the multitude, filled with hatred of royalty, and who already regarded the Jacobins as the best but the Girondists as only second-rate friends of the people. The revolution had then arrived at that part of its course, in which moderation must succumb, and the foolhardiest daring is the condition of victory.

Thus, in the first meeting of the Convention, royalty was abolished by acclamation, and France declared a republic. On the following day (September 22) public proclamation was made to this effect; and from this time all writings, public or private, took their date from the year since the establishment of the republic. To such an extent did the Jacobins carry their mania for liberty and equality that they abolished the words Monsieur and

Madame prefixed to names, and adopted Citoyen and Citoyenne in their stead; the plural pronoun *vous*, hitherto used in speaking to one another, was superseded by the singular *tu*; and a disgusting slovenliness in dress and rudeness of demeanour became the distinctive marks of stanch republicans.

Just at the moment when the Jacobins had gained this advantage over their former assistants in the destruction of royalty, the Prussian army, on which the royalists had founded hopes of the re-establishment of the throne, was forced to a retreat, attended with considerable loss, from the plains of Champagne; and thus commenced that superiority which the republican arms retained for many years over the armies brought into the field against them by the monarchs of Europe.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PRUSSIANS INVADE CHAMPAGNE.

The declaration of war, for which the unfortunate Louis had suffered himself to be made the tool, was directed against Austria alone. The French rulers, in accordance with the old system of the balance of power, considered Prussia as the natural friend of France, with whom, now that the absurd and ruinous alliance with Austria was broken, a formal treaty might even be contracted. So prevalent was this notion that, during the correspondence with the court of Vienna, this treaty with Prussia had frequently been adverted to, and the neglect of it was represented as one of the offences of the king in the memorial addressed to the nation after his deposition by the National Assembly. The presumption was that an irreconcileable rivalry must subsist between the successors of Frederick and Maria Theresa; and the ardour

of the wish to derive advantage from it against Austria arose from the high character and reputed invincibility attached, particularly in France, to the military creation of the great Frederick. Had Frederick William been disposed to profit by this favourable disposition of the heads of parties towards Prussia, he might, as an ally of the constitutional king, have proved an efficient support to Louis, and have moderated the course of the revolution, or perhaps even given it a different direction.

But, according to the sentiments then entertained by Frederick William, nothing was further from his intentions than to ally himself with the men of a revolution which he heartily detested. His virtues and his prejudices concurred in impressing him with a horror of a monarchy so degraded, so totally dependent on popular favour, and in representing the re-establishment of the ancient throne as the most urgent duty of a king. Hence the encouragement which he gave to the suggestions of the emigrants; hence the preponderance acquired with him by Calonne, the agent of the princes, or more correctly speaking of the count d'Artois, over the more moderate Breteuil, the envoy of Louis; hence the suddenness with which, soon after the convention of Reichenbach, his hostile disposition towards Austria gave place to the closest friendship, and that, on the 7th of February, 1792, led to a formal alliance, by virtue of which both powers were to arm. This engagement speedily became an imperative necessity for Austria, in consequence of the declaration of war issued in Paris. The preparations of that great monarchy for so important an object were nevertheless strikingly scanty. All the forces equipped in the Breisgau, on the Middle Rhine, and in the Netherlands, amounted to no more than 56,000 men; the great armies which Joseph had led into the field against Frederick in the Bavarian war, and afterwards against the

Turks, and which Leopold had recently assembled on the frontiers of Silesia, were kept in the interior of the monarchy, to be in readiness in case the proceedings of Russia against Poland should require the emperor's interference: and this slender force made no haste to assemble at the appointed places of rendezvous. Thus it is undoubted that Austria was not in a hurry to commence hostilities; and, but for the declaration of war extorted by the Jacobins, the conflict would scarcely have been begun.

Prussia manifested a warmer interest. So early as the month of February, the duke of Brunswick was summoned to Potsdam, to concert the plan of the campaign with the king and count Schulenburg, then minister for foreign affairs. The younger commanders of the Prussian army were immediately in commotion. They had returned discontented in 1790 from Silesia, and in 1791 from Prussia; now they saw the way opened to glory and to promotion. The universal cry was, "To the Rhine! to the Rhine! there grow our laurels! To Paris! to Paris!"—"The duke of Brunswick," said they, "at the head of the Prussian and Austrian army—what resistance can the Paris advocates make? It will only be a chase, like that at Rossbach!" The majority of the nation, indeed, entertained totally different sentiments, and, in consequence of its own condition in relation to the native nobility, was by no means disposed to quarrel with or to condemn the fundamental ideas of the revolution. But, secluded as the officers were from the great body of the people, the temper of the latter had no influence upon them. In Prussia, the soldier and the citizen formed so decided a contrast that the French nation appeared contemptible to the former chiefly because it professed such a predilection for civic institutions, taken, it is true, in a more comprehensive sense than that prevailing in Ger-

many. This feeling of the military was shared by a majority of the higher classes. Prince Henry, the king's uncle alone, mortified at the disappointment of his hopes of increased influence by the elevation of his nephew to the throne, and at the distinguished part allotted to the duke of Brunswick, formed in this circle an opposition party, whose operation, however, was confined to bitter expressions and satirical remarks.

Warm as was Frederick-William's chivalrous zeal for the French adventure, still the preparations for the campaign exhibited a certain dilatoriness and indecision. The vast treasure left him by his great-uncle was exhausted, owing to the sacrifices made for the Dutch and for the Turks, and to profusion in his personal expenditure. It was nearly four months before an army of 45,000 men could be put in motion. This was deemed sufficient to conquer France, because the feeling of slender means was glad to console itself with the idea that the end proposed was easy of attainment. "Don't buy too many horses," said Bischofswerder, at the end of May, to general Massenbach; "the comedy will not last long: the liberty mania is already subsiding in Paris; the army of the advocates has been soundly thrashed in the Netherlands; we shall be at home again in the autumn." The backwardness of Prussia might easily be accounted for: notwithstanding the overtures of Leopold, the projected alliance of all the monarchs had not yet been effected; nay, there was not even any precise understanding with England, neither was the participation of this country in the quarrel so much as thought of at first. Her treaty with Prussia provided only for the contingency of an actual attack; and the hesitation which had been shown to engage in the threatened war with Russia, caused the Prussians to set no great value on her assistance. Frederick-William was unwilling that the

cause of kings should be dependent on the bold, and in many respects offensive, opinions of parliamentary orators, and imagined that he should soon settle the business of the French without them. Both allies, however, were summoned to co-operate.

Towards the end of May, the Prussian army at length commenced its march in three columns, which united at Coblentz. The commander-in-chief was at Mentz, where Francis, the successor of Leopold, after being crowned emperor at Frankfurt on the 14th of July, held a conference with the king of Prussia. Here the two sovereigns forced upon the duke a plan of operations totally adverse to his own views and to his superior military experience. According to this plan, the Prussians and Hessians, composing the main army, strengthened by 12,000 emigrants, were to proceed along the left bank of the Moselle, through Luxemburg, to Longwy and Verdun, and thence by Chalons to Paris; two Austrian corps on the Upper and Middle Rhine were to protect the German frontier; while three other Austrian corps on the Moselle and in the Netherlands were to cover the left flank of the Prussians. According to the assertions of the emigrants, by which the monarchs were induced to adopt this plan, all depended on affording speedy succour to the numerous royalists in France, who were only waiting for an army, a commander, and the princes, to join them immediately. The country, they alleged, would muster all its resources to receive its deliverers; a civil war would break out forthwith at all points; the greater part of the French troops of the line would go over to their old leaders, and the odious domination of the Jacobins be overthrown in a few days. Still, in contradiction to these pre-suppositions, the emigrants, whose union into one corps might have served as a sort of guarantee to the nation that the entry of the foreigners was not coupled with any design

of conquest, or of the partition of France, were divided into several petty corps, and mostly placed in the rear-guard. This was probably done in accordance with the ideas of the king, communicated by Mallet du Pan, and the duke of Brunswick was glad to thrust aside these auxiliaries whom he disliked. The more strongly the influence of the princes had operated upon the resolutions of the monarchs, and the greater the civilities paid to them by the duke as a courtier and a man of the world, the less favour did he show them as commander-in-chief. "He made compliments upon compliments," says Massenbach in his Memoirs, "bows down to the ground; but his cheeks glowed, and his eyes flashed, like the eyes of a tiger." He would rather have conducted the war methodically and regularly, occupied the banks of the Moselle and the Saar, and, after reducing the fortresses, operated from them upon the French provinces. The plan approved by the monarchs of a war of invasion was indisputably adapted to the political situation of France and the object in view, if sufficient forces had been employed in its execution; but, as this was not the case, it was liable to be attended with great disasters.

The duke had yielded against his conviction, and signed on the 25th of July the manifesto drawn up in Calonne's bureau, which has already been adverted to; but the army advanced so slowly, that it was easy to perceive that the idea of this march had not proceeded from the brain of the commander-in-chief. Frederick-William, with his two elder sons, the prince-royal and prince Louis, accompanied the army. He shared with it the fatigues and dangers of the war, adhering in this point to the custom of his house, incited by the generous wish to lead back Louis and Antoinette from their prison to the throne. The personal presence of the king might serve to encourage the troops; but to the duke it was in many

respects unwelcome, because he was commander-in-chief only in name and responsibility, but in fact dependent on the resolutions of the sovereign.

In those days of August, when the near prospect of the ruin of their house caused the king and queen to long so ardently for the arrival of their deliverers, the Prussian army lay for six days encamped near Konz. At length, after marching forty leagues in twenty days, it crossed the French frontier on the 19th of August. The news of the occurrences in Paris, Lafayette's abortive attempt and flight, and the behaviour of the French troops — all served to alarm the duke. Instead of profiting by the advantage which the disordered state of the French armies promised to a sudden attack, he was confirmed in the opinion that no reliance was to be placed on the reports of the emigrants, and that the offensive warfare recommended by them was not to be hazarded. On the 22nd, the frontier fortress Longwy surrendered; but this trifling success made no change in the sentiments of the duke. In a council of war held with the generals at St. Michel, he explained anew the system which he had recommended in Potsdam, and clearly showed that, under existing circumstances, Sedan, Montmedy, and Thionville, ought to be taken, and that the idea of pushing on to Paris with so small a force must be abandoned. He then repaired to the king, to whom the duke always spoke in so submissive a tone, that his real opinion was not known to him. Whether by chance or intentionally, Frederick-William had fixed his head-quarters in a village bearing the significant name of Glorieux. The French princes beset him with solicitations: before his eyes shone the splendour of a complete triumph; he beheld the queen saluting him as her deliverer, and the tear of gratitude glistening in the eye of Louis—what ear could he then have for the cold doubts of his timid ge-

neral! The objections of the latter were silenced, and he was ordered to advance towards the Marne.

Success seemed to justify this resolution; for, on the 2nd of September, the commandant of Verdun was compelled by the citizens and the peasants summoned for the defence of that fortress to surrender. The inhabitants received the king with demonstrations of honour; young girls strewed flowers, and afterwards attended the balls given to the conquerors; but the commandant—his name was Beaurepaire—shot himself after the capitulation, and the garrison, when marching away, shouted to the Prussians advancing behind them, "We will meet you in the plains of Chalons!" It was precisely from the troops of the line that a friendly reception had been expected. This garrison, four thousand strong, which was allowed free egress, occupied the passes of the forest of Argonne, which the Prussians might easily have secured, if the duke had not been detained again for several days at Verdun by the apprehension that, if he pushed on too far, he might be taken in the rear by Dumouriez, who was at Sedan, and by Kellermann, who had superseded Luckner, and was posted at Metz. Not till he had succeeded in manœuvring Dumouriez out of his position, so that he was cut off from Sedan and Montmedy, did the army receive orders to advance. It is scarcely to be doubted that the repugnance of the duke to the march upon Paris had some share in these delays.

The intention was to turn the Argonne on the right, and to lead the army into the plain of Champagne. At first, success attended every movement. The French, unable to cope with the allies either in fight or in the art of manœuvring, evacuated one position after another. After Chazot had been beaten on the 14th of September in an action at Croix à Bois by the Austrian general Clairfait, and a corps of 10,000 men had fled before 1500

hussars nearly to Chalons, Dumouriez retreated to St. Menehould on the Aisne. A rapid advance of the Prussians might now have reduced him to great extremity; but, on account of the provisions which had to be conveyed after them from Verdun, they lost two whole days, and thus gave him time to call in to him generals Beurnonville and Kellermann. On the 19th, the whole French army was united on a long range of hills between St. Menehould and Valmy. The duke resolved to drive them from this position by a manœuvre. If he marched his advanced guard up the right bank of the Aisne, and followed with the main army, and at the same time, by detaching a strong column to Varennes, restored the communication with the Austrians, and thus rendered it possible for them to march upon Chalons and the emigrants upon Rheims, he hoped to cut off the French general from all his resources, to gain a route to Paris, and thereby cause the camp at St. Menehould to be broken up. But this calculation of prudence was frustrated by a prompt resolution of courage. The king had long been displeased with the timid caution of his general, and, on receiving incorrect intelligence that the French army had broken up, in order to escape to Chalons, he thought it time to interfere, and suddenly issued orders for changing the direction which had been already taken, and conducting the army not to the right, but to the left, with a view to cut off the retreat of the fleeing enemy.

In consequence of this order, a night march brought the Prussians upon the rear of the French army, and on the morning of the 20th of September they were opposite to Kellermann's corps, which formed its left wing. A fog at first concealed from them the position of the enemy; but, when it cleared off about ten o'clock, they perceived the French, whom they had supposed to be in

flight, drawn up in excellent order of battle. Everything foreboded a decisive engagement. A height near the advanced work La Lune, which had been occupied by two Prussian batteries, at the very moment when French cavalry and infantry were approaching to secure it, was the point from which a cannonade commenced, that soon became general along the whole line of both armies. Several hundred fell dead and wounded, and still neither party advanced to the attack. The Prussians threw a prodigious quantity of howitzer-grenades; but most of them flew harmlessly over the heads of the French, who began to jeer, when suddenly one of their powder-magazines was struck and blown up. A prodigious outcry was heard; the firing ceased; the Prussian commanders on the heights of La Lune perceived among the enemy great disorder and an appearance of flight. The battle might now have been begun and gained: but the duke was not at this point, from which the whole line was overlooked, but in the midst of the infantry. When fetched to the spot, the scene was already changed. The enemy had recovered from their consternation; their artillery again played, and, while the Prussian columns stood stock-still, repeated shouts of *Vive la Nation!* proceeded from their adversaries. The king, the duke, the hereditary prince of Hohenlohe, Nassau, Manstein, Grawert, were holding consultation; the commander-in-chief persisted in his resolution not to fight, and the king submitted this time, though with evident mortification, to the decision of the duke. The violence of the cannonade gradually subsided, till about five o'clock it wholly ceased.

Just at this time an Austrian corps under Clairfait made its appearance, but produced no change in the resolution adopted. The king took up his quarters in the advanced work, which was full of wounded and

dying. This was a distressing sight, the pain of which was increased by the thought that so hot a day had not only been without result, but that it might even pass for a victory won by the French, and must stimulate their courage and heighten their arrogance. The reasons which had decided the duke certainly deserved consideration. The continued rain and the privations imposed by the exhausted state of the country had greatly diminished the physical and moral energies of the troops. The ground between the armies, broken by ravines and steep declivities, was so wet that the feet found no bottom, and that it was absolutely impossible to draw artillery after the troops in an attack. Through a blunder of Tempelhoff's, the army had received only the usual allowance of ammunition instead of treble the quantity: for this commander of the artillery had left behind all the park-columns in Luxemburg, Longwy, and Verdun, and the communication with these fortresses was cut off by the march upon the rear of the French army. In case of a warm engagement, all the batteries must soon have spent their ammunition. If the battle were lost, the army, the king, and the princes were sacrificed; if won, the next movement would be the march to Paris, which the duke, alarmed by warning letters, regarded as an undertaking that must end in disaster even after a victory. But the moment for victory was lost while weighing all these possibilities. Who can presume to assert that a contrary course would have succeeded! Great things, indeed, are not to be achieved without hardy daring; and unfortunately the duke, too cautious by nature and by earlier experience, was rendered still more so, because he saw that the monarchy, the sovereign, and his successor, were all staked upon the issue. At the same time, Kellermann was reproached by his

commander in chief with having, from timid scruples, lost the moment for an advantageous attack.

For several days the armies remained encamped near each other. Negociations were opened, and a truce concluded for an indefinite period; the prisoners were exchanged, but such of the emigrants as had been taken were most ungenerously left by the allies to their fate. That fate was death. On the other hand, Frederick William made demands in favour of Louis, which Dumouriez had not authority to grant. Incensed at their refusal, the king decided in a great council of war, held on the 26th of September at his head-quarters at Hans, contrary to the opinion of the duke of Brunswick, Kalkreuth, and the other Prussian generals of his way of thinking, but in accordance with the views of the emigrants, on risking an engagement and marching to Paris: the day for the attack was even fixed. Meanwhile, the rains which had set in since the departure from Longwy continued to increase in vehemence, and had reduced the army to the most deplorable state. The loamy soil of Champagne was converted into a treacherous quagmire; the cold and wet, together with the eating of unripe grapes, which, from the want of bread and of water fit for drinking, were frequently for several successive days the only sustenance of the troops, had generated dysentery, and thousands of soldiers ill of that disease lay in excruciating agonies upon the flooded ground, covered with the most offensive matters, among the more fortunate dead. These circumstances supported the duke in his efforts to prevail upon the king to abandon his resolution. He showed, from the state of the negociation in which he was engaged with Dumouriez, that nothing but the evacuation of the French territory could save the life of the king. He urged also a piece of information which he had received from good authority, that general

Custine, who was in Landau, meditated an invasion of the German provinces on the Lower Rhine. The king listened at last to these arguments, and assented to the conclusion of a secret convention between the two commanders in chief, by which the duke of Brunswick engaged to retire to the Meuse, on condition that he should not be pursued. Three commissioners of the Convention, who had arrived at the camp of Dumouriez, executed this agreement, without communicating it to the subordinate generals.

At the moment when the Prussians were expecting orders for the fight, they were surprised by directions to retreat—a movement that appeared, from the circumstances under which it was to be effected, more dangerous than a battle would have been. On the 1st of October the army commenced this retreat. The sufferings of men and cattle were dreadful: their route was strewed with wrecks and corpses. Great as the losses were, to those who were ignorant of the secret convention, it appeared nothing less than a miraculous piece of good fortune that the whole army was not taken or destroyed, but allowed to prosecute its march unmolested, from the banks of the Aisne to beyond the Moselle. Instead, however, of pursuing, the French moved on peacefully in the rear of the Prussians, and even permitted the garrisons of the two fortresses, under conventions which required of them nothing more than the evacuation of those places, to join the main army without obstruction. The capitulations of the fortresses were worded like agreements between friendly powers: and the French pointed it out as a remarkable circumstance that their generals had signed them as generals of the republic, and affixed to them the seal of the French people along with that of the king of Prussia. On the 23rd of October, the day after the surrender of Longwy, on which the allied army re-entered

the territory of Luxemburg, terminated this unfortunate campaign. "The loss sustained by the army from the enemy," says general Canitz,* "did not amount to one thousand men: by far the greater part of the infantry never fired a shot; the cavalry scarcely struck a stroke; the artillery only, with ten thousand discharges, shattered the limbs of a few hundred French."

As though the emigrants alone were to blame for this failure, their chiefs were afterwards treated with coldness by the monarchs; and the great mass of these unfortunate men, to whose arrogance too much indulgence had previously been shown, were even subjected to measures of immoderate severity, at the same time that a decree of the Convention declared them to have forfeited all their estates and property left behind in France, and pronounced the penalty of death against them all without distinction, no matter whether they had quitted their country from fear or party-spirit, whether they had returned to it of their own accord or been taken in arms, whether as wives they had accompanied their husbands or as children their parents. The corps of the princes were in consequence dissolved; that of Condé alone was taken into the imperial service, but the numerous nobles of whom it was composed were obliged to be content with the pay of private horse-soldiers.

* In his classical work on the Prussian Cavalry, i., 146. Massenbach alleges that the grounds of the duke of Brunswick's conduct during this campaign lay in his character; and the author of the *Memoires d'un homme d'état*, ascribed, but erroneously, to the pen of Prince Hardenberg, asserts that he deferred to the wishes of England, which would not have been pleased to see this important affair decided by Austria and Prussia alone.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WAR ON THE RHINE AND IN BELGIUM, AND MILITARY SYSTEM OF THAT TIME.

While the Germans were pleased to denounce the French emigrants as the authors of the disasters which had befallen them, events on the Middle and Lower Rhine showed that the counsels of foreigners were not needed for the ruin of Germany. The Middle Rhine, which the corps of count Erbach was to have covered, was left exposed, because that corps had been obliged to follow the main army. The Austrians had, nevertheless, left under the protection of 2000 men their principal magazine at Spire—a rambling and ill-fortified place—in the neighbourhood of which, at Landau, general Custine was collecting a considerable force. Breaking up suddenly, Custine made prisoners of the garrison in Spire, which the Austrians had neglected to withdraw to Mentz; and, invited by messages from the latter city, he soon advanced to this bulwark of the empire, for the defence of which the sovereign and government had left, at their flight, a weak garrison and a still weaker commandant: his name was Gymnich. As the French had not brought cannon with them, the garrison of 4000 men would have sufficed to defend the fortress at least till the arrival of the Hessians, who had been summoned from Darmstadt. But such was the terror excited by an enemy, so lately an object of supreme contempt, that Gymnich capitulated on the 21st of October with the French partisan, whose chief strength consisted in threats and boasting, and thought himself most fortunate in the terms which enabled him to withdraw his garrison unmolested by the bridge across the Rhine to Cassel, and

bound him not to serve for a year only: indeed, he would fain have detained an Austrian captain, who escaped this disgrace by marching off with several hundred imperial troops, that he might participate in so advantageous a convention.

It was not, however, the natural imbecility alone of the commandant that operated in favour of the enemy: his conquest was facilitated by the influence of a revolutionary party in Mentz, consisting chiefly of members of the order of the Illuminati, who beheld all their plans for the improvement of the world realised under the new reign of French happiness, and were anxious to transplant it to the soil of Germany. It was this party which had invited Custine, and completely disheartened the spiritless Gymnich, by means of his sub-commandant Eikemeier, their colleague. Immediately after the entry of the French, the Paris system was aped, a Jacobin-club established, a tree of liberty, hammered together with dry wood, an apt symbol of French glory, solemnly erected, the celebration of the republican festivals enjoined, and persecution let loose against the partisans of the elector. The follies and excesses committed at that time in Mentz were doubly revolting in their German form. History laments to have to name among the authors and participators in them, a man of superior abilities and understanding, the circumnavigator, George Forster, whom the elector had invited to Mentz, and appointed professor and librarian. The predominant idea at first was the foundation of a Rhenish-German republic, after the French model; but the National Convention, summoned to meet at Mentz in execution of this scheme, soon became convinced that the new commonwealth was too weak to stand upon its own legs, and therefore sent deputies to Paris to propose a union with the mighty sister-republic. In point of fact, however,

this union had already taken place, for the whole territory occupied by the French was treated like a conquered country, and subjected to heavy burdens and extortions, in spite of all the lofty phrases about liberty and fraternity.

Fortunately, Custine, while taking part in all these fooleries, lost the opportunity to reduce the whole of the country lower down the Rhine. He might have surprised Coblentz, which was unguarded, and Ehrenbreitstein, extended a hand to the army which Dumouriez was conducting to the Netherlands, and thus obliged the Prussians to evacuate entirely the left bank of the Rhine. He chose rather to send a detachment under general Neuwinger, to take possession of Frankfurt (October 22), that he might wring a ransom of 1,500,000 dollars from that neutral imperial city, the magistrates of which had carefully avoided every thing that was likely to offend republican France. Prussia and Hesse, indeed, soon hastened to put a stop to the system of plunder, and recovered Frankfurt on the 2d of December, by an assault, favoured by the lower class of the population. The re-capture of Mentz, a much harder task, and requiring the employment of a strong force, was reserved for the ensuing campaign.

At other points, the state of things was still worse. In the month of September, the French army of the South, under Montesquiou, entered the dominions of the king of Sardinia, without any declaration of war, and without resistance took possession of the provinces of Savoy and Nice, which were immediately incorporated as two new departments with France, though their sovereign, Victor Emanuel, had merely manifested at different times his aversion to the ruling powers there, without having resolved upon any serious attack or defence. Dumouriez, who, after the retreat of the Prussians, had reinforced

his army to 80,000 men, marched against a weak Austrian corps under the duke of Saxe-Teschen and general Clairfait, which, operating from the Netherlands, had bombarded the fortress of Lille. The Austrians fell back upon Mons, and took a position near the village of Jemappes, where Dumouriez attacked them on the 5th of November, and obliged them, after a desperate resistance of two days, to retreat. The success of the French was in part attributable to the judgment, energy, and intrepidity of a young officer who commanded the centre. This was the duke de Chartres, the eldest son of the duke of Orleans, who was then called general Chartres, and now, as Louis Philippe, occupies the throne of France. The reduction of all Belgium, with the exception of Luxemburg and Mästricht, was the consequence of this battle, and it was important in another respect, inasmuch as it proved to astonished Europe that the soldiers of liberty, but lately so much despised, could conquer in fair fight at the first essay. It was not to their skill it is true, but to their number—80,000 against 14,000—that they owed the victory; but French rhetoric contrived to throw that disparity into the shade. By an action at Tirlemont, the French opened the way from Brabant to Liege, where violent animosities had for some years prevailed between the bishop and his subjects, drove out the Austrians, who had not long before settled the affair to the advantage of the bishop, formed a constitution accordant with the wishes of the people, and soon afterwards took possession of Limburg, Gelders, and Aix. A decree, issued by the National Convention on the 19th of November, called upon all oppressed people to make themselves free, and offered them aid and fraternity.

Not till then was war with France, on the part of the German Empire, decided upon, at the requisition of

Austria and Prussia; and all the states were enjoined to furnish treble the constitutional contingent in men fixed in 1689. The two principal powers, who had more than that proportion already in the field, despatched fresh troops to recruit the losses which they had sustained in the preceding campaign: but the fault which had occasioned the disasters of the past year, insufficiency of forces, was repeated in the next (1793); and none of the states brought into the field so strong an army as was required for a war with France. Austria, indeed, made greater efforts than in the preceding year; but neither the army of 50,000 men, placed under the command of the prince of Coburg, for the re-conquest of the Netherlands, nor another of 45,000 under Wurmser, which was to operate on the Upper Rhine, was in due proportion to the resources of that great monarchy. Prussia, which had at first taken the lead in this war, seemed now to consider herself rather as the auxiliary of Austria, of whom the employment of her whole force could not be required. The feeling of early exhaustion had cooled the first ardour; and the state of affairs in Poland diverted attention to another quarter, upon which motives of interest soon served to fix it. Those moderate armies, moreover, arrived but slowly, and in part incomplete, at the theatre of war, because their equipment and maintenance were attended with great and inconvenient expense, and the levy and training of recruits required much time and trouble. The French armies, on the other hand, were reinforced by prodigious masses, for the moment, by a levy of 300,000 men; and, from the simplicity of the military exercise introduced since the revolution, from the disregard of uniformity in arms and clothing, and from the natural aptitude of the people to acquire the indispensable qualifications of the soldier, it was neither difficult nor expensive to transform these

hundreds of thousands into real soldiers. In positive military usefulness, it is true, they were far inferior to the German troops, which, trained to regular evolutions and the rapid handling of their arms, and led by skilful officers, were more than a match in the field of battle for even a greater number of French: but this tactical superiority of the Germans was counterbalanced by the absence of the moral motives which the idea of liberty awakened in the French, by the jealousy subsisting between the armies and the commanders of the different powers, and even by the age of most of the superior officers, who, in consequence of the then prevailing system of promotion, were in general so far advanced in years as to be past active military service. The art of finding clever leaders among the younger staff-officers, and putting them into proper places—that art to which Frederick owed great part of his successes—had been neglected towards the end of his life by himself; still less had care since been taken to cultivate it and to keep pace with the times. Those who were now to enter the lists against the youthful energies of a regenerated people had gathered their laurels in the seven years' war: thirty years had since rolled away. The duke of Brunswick himself, one of the youngest and strongest of these veterans (born in 1735), was not deficient either in skill or experience, though indeed in that resolution which risks much in order to gain much. The army lost all self-confidence, because no confidence was placed in it, and at the most important and the most lucky moment an attack was always declined as too hazardous or too difficult. The adventurous boldness with which Frederick had often beaten out of the field, even defeated, and always made head against antagonists far superior in force to himself, had been superseded by a faint-hearted system, which, under the pretext of proceeding methodi-

cally and scientifically, converted war into an artful game, with demonstrations, positions, and marches, but despised or pretended to despise attacks and battles, as aids and expedients of untutored naturalism. This new system of warfare might perhaps have been a gain to humanity, had it been likewise adopted by the enemy.

The material efficiency of the German forces was limited to the Austrians, the Prussians, the Saxons, the Hanoverians, and the Hessians: the contingents of the other princes fully justified the notions entertained ever since the seven years' war of the state of the army of the Empire. Bavaria, though it had become by the union of two electorates next to Austria and Prussia the most important state of the Empire, kept scarcely 9000 men under arms during the feeble government of Charles Theodore — at least there were no more in the year 1795, that of the greatest danger for the country—and these partly composed of forced recruits and vagabonds, and commanded chiefly by wholly inexperienced officers. The money levied by the government from the subjects as an extraordinary tax for the recruiting and equipment of the army was received at the treasury, and then most of the men who had been raised were dismissed. The contingents of the numerous states of the circles of Swabia, Franconia, and the Rhine, which were assessed at $3\frac{1}{4}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$, 5, $7\frac{1}{3}$, 8, 20, 50, 100, men, were on a still worse footing. The hired body-guards sent by the petty princes and the imperial cities for this purpose to the places of rendezvous, and the men raised by those who kept no military establishment, presented a motley and useless assemblage, in which diversity of clothing and arms was a less evil than the diverse dependencies and commands and the indiscipline arising from them. To render these evils less prejudicial, the circular contingents were generally divided between the Prussian and Austrian

armies, and the chief command of them was given to their generals; but the contempt with which the latter looked down upon the soldiers and officers of the troops of the Empire produced consequences still more pernicious. It was repaid with the bitterest hatred, expressed not only in sarcastic designations applied to the Prussians and Austrians, but even in a malicious joy whenever report or the newspapers brought accounts of disasters or defeats, particularly of the latter.

In this at once melancholy and ludicrous form the holy German empire was no very formidable foe to the French; and from the indignation, disgust, or shame, excited by this debasement of the German name, arose an ally which they were not aware of, and which played most innocently into the hands of their friends and admirers. Because the nation had given up the spiritless form of its constitution, it cared not about duly appreciating its essence; and because the potentates regarded all enthusiasm as a tool of revolution, they were afraid to test the real strength of Germany by awaking the national spirit of the people.

CHAPTER XIX.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI.

During the advance of the allies, the Executive Council in Paris had manifested great uneasiness, and sent repeated orders to Dumouriez to leave the camp at St. Menehould, and to take a position behind the Marne, so as to cover the capital. To these orders, Dumouriez opposed the most positive assurances that no apprehension need be felt for Paris, and the result justified his firmness. The presumption of the National Convention, which met just at the time when tidings of victories

were successively arriving, rose to the most extravagant audacity. The object of the revolution was loudly declared to be the overthrow of all tyrants. Jean de Bry's motion in the Legislative Assembly for raising a body of 1200 tyrannicides had been received, it is true, with great applause; but, on the remark of Vergniaud, that it would authorise monarchs to send forth on their side assassins to slaughter deputies, it was not adopted. St. Just, a deputy, now declared that royalty was a crime, against which every man ought to rise and arm; that every king was a rebel and usurper, and that the law of Nature commanded his trial and execution; and, on the 19th of November, the Convention issued a decree, promising assistance and fraternity to all the nations that were desirous of recovering their liberty.

But this same assembly, while making these profuse offers of freedom, was itself under the rod of the municipality, a band of ruffians steeped in the guilt of murder and robbery, half of whom could neither write nor read; and, in its own meetings, it was governed by discharged lacqueys and depraved women, who filled the galleries, and played the part of the real representatives of the people, sometimes yelling forth senseless applause, at others obscenities and abuse. The authors of the September massacres and their assistants belonged to this body, and wore the booty of which they had plundered the victims. Marat, accused in the Assembly of instigating the people incessantly to fresh atrocities, boldly acknowledged having said that 270,000 more men must yet be put to death for the public welfare, and that he boasted of it because he alluded to the enemies of liberty. Robespierre declared that the scythe of liberty ought to sweep once more over Paris; and Danton, who had paid the assassins with the money of the nation, protested

that it would have been delivered from all its enemies, if he had been entrusted with ten millions more.

In vain did the Girondists strive to break the disgraceful yoke imposed upon them by the Jacobins, men far inferior to themselves in abilities and eloquence, by means of an accusation preferred on the 5th of November by Louvet against Robespierre that he aspired to the dictatorship, and designed to attain it by terror: at the decisive moment, most of those who should have supported the charge shrank from the peril of the attempt, and from voting the apprehension of the accused, who had already contrived to bewilder the senses of his adversaries by the phantom of fear. The accuser and the few who seconded him were left in the lurch. Though still in possession of superior power, the Girondists ruined themselves, as the king had previously done, by half-measures, and, from timidity and irresolution, allowed their enemy to escape when they might yet have crushed him. What at first appeared to be a drawn battle was destined soon to turn out a total defeat for those who had let slip the opportunity to conquer.

But before the Girondists became ripe for destruction, through their own faintheartedness, they suffered themselves to be led into a participation in the judicial murder of the unfortunate Louis. It was only till they had overturned the throne that they concurred with the Jacobins: even the imprisonment of the king had been wrung from them. The plan for putting him to death soon betrayed by the former appeared to them not only unserviceable to the object of founding a republic, but mischievous, because it would deprive the state of a valuable hostage, and perpetuate the war with the European monarchs: they were apprehensive at the same time that the power of the faction which entertained it would

be thereby increased. For the honour of human nature, we may likewise assume that many of these republicans felt a real abhorrence of the projected crime. But, instead of opposing a generous and manly resistance, they sought to defeat it by indirect means; while Marat and Robespierre were for dragging the king to the scaffold, as a traitor and tyrant, without any form of trial, because his crimes and the public welfare demanded this sacrifice, the Girondists insisted that he ought first to be formally tried and condemned. To carry through this idea, they took great pains to represent his condemnation as extremely probable; but by this very circumstance they found themselves afterwards, when they had attained their object, debarred from advancing any thing in his defence, because they feared lest they should contradict themselves, hazard their popularity, and increase the political strength of the Jacobins. They resolved, therefore, to speak and to vote for the death of Louis, but, at the same time, to set up the position that the sentence passed by the National Convention required the confirmation of all the French citizens, and that the primary assemblies ought for this purpose to be convoked. By this expedient they hoped to save the king, and also to convince the nation that they were friends to the popular power. They did not consider that the Jacobins had already found in fear the great lever of the revolution, and that, by means of terror and violence, they already ruled the people, whose king now stood for judgment at their bar, solely because he had been too weak and too good-natured to resort timely to violent measures.

Meanwhile, the treatment of the unfortunate prisoners in the Temple, consigned to the tender mercies of the municipality, fully corresponded with the sentiments and intentions so unreservedly expressed in the proceedings

of the Assembly. Such was the destitute state to which they were reduced, that they frequently felt the want of comforts and conveniences enjoyed by the poorest day-labourer. On their passage from the Tuileries to the hall of the Assembly, on the fatal 10th of August, the queen had been robbed of her purse and her watch. All that she took with her to the Temple consisted of twenty-five louis d'ors, borrowed of the sister of Madame Campan, her attendant, which she never durst venture to make use of; a small pocket-book containing scissors, needles, silk, and thread; a pocket-mirror; two papers, with hair of her husband and of her children, deceased and living; a ring, likewise, with hair of her children and the king; a portrait of the princess Lamballe; and portraits of the duchess of Mecklenburg and the princess of Hesse, with whom she had been brought up. The king possessed still less; and the once ruler of France was now poorer than the meanest of his subjects. The municipality well knew that they were destitute of every thing, but seemed purposely to take no notice of their distress, in order to humble them the more.

Shut up in one of the towers of the Gothic building, the second and third floors of which were assigned to them, they were watched with the utmost rigour. All the posts in and about the Temple were doubly manned: and around the prison ditches were made, entrenchments thrown up, and palisades erected. The king, with a sure presentiment of the fatal catastrophe, repeatedly lamented the needless expense occasioned by these works, saying that he should not be there long. He passed his time partly in reading, and partly in the instruction of his son, the dauphin, while his sister, the virtuous Elisabeth, acted the part of preceptress to his daughter. The workmen, with the malicious propensity of vulgar minds to insult fallen greatness, sang, in the hearing of the

king, songs full of virulent abuse of himself and his pitiable consort; and when he asked a question of his keepers, he received no answer. Even sleep, the soother of the wretched, they were not allowed to enjoy in quiet. The royal prisoners lay in separate rooms, in each of which was kept all night a guard of four soldiers, who were relieved every half-hour, lest they should be tampered with. The officer of each fresh party, on entering the chamber, was required to ask, "Monsieur Louis, are you in bed?" The same question was put to the queen, who was called Madame Antoinette; and it was repeated till an answer was returned by the harassed prisoners.

What reader, on perusing such details, is not reminded of the impassioned outburst of the eloquent Burke: "It is now sixteen or seventeen years since I saw the queen of France, then the dauphiness, at Versailles; and surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision. I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she had just begun to move in, glittering like the morning star, full of life, and splendour, and joy. Oh, what a revolution! and what a heart must I have to contemplate, without emotion, that elevation and that fall! Little did I dream that I should live to see such disasters fallen upon her in a nation of gallant men, in a nation of men of honour and cavaliers. I thought ten thousand swords would have leaped from their scabbards to avenge even a look that threatened her with insult. But the age of chivalry is gone!"

The food with which the royal family were supplied, was frequently so bad that they could not touch it; and they had no better wine than was provided for their guards. After repeated applications for body linen, the municipality had six shirts and as many chemises made for them of coarse cloth; and the king was also furnished

with a coarse great coat, like that worn by the soldiers of the national guard. Such of these soldiers as had to do duty in the rooms of the royal pair, ate, drank, talked, smoked, and made as much noise, as though they were the only occupants.

Before earl Gower, the English ambassador, quitted Paris, he applied for permission to take leave of the king. It was thought impolitic to refuse. The interview was extremely moving. The king wept, sighed, wrung his hands, and lifted his eyes to heaven: for, in the presence of his keepers, he durst not express his feelings in words. His lordship found the prison and its mean and scanty furniture in a dirty state. His lady contrived to deliver to the queen, unobserved, some clean linen which she had brought with her.

It is not surprising that with such treatment the health of the royal pair should decline. The queen became thin and ailing; and the king was at one time so ill that he kept his bed for several days. He begged to be allowed a physician; but could not prevail upon his keepers to grant this indulgence. Neither could the most urgent intreaties of the queen and himself obtain for them the luxury of *clean* linen. The Venetian ambassador, on learning their condition, offered to send a supply to the prison; but the Jacobins threatened him with the lamp-post, if he presumed to do so.

Though the Assembly, in abolishing the civil list, had voted an allowance of 500,000 livres for the support of the royal family, the council of the commune thought fit not to ratify this decree. Deprived of all resources, the queen and the princesses spent part of the night, as well as the day, in mending their own clothes and those of the king. Scarcely a day passed without bringing some fresh restriction. At length, on the 29th of September, the municipality resolved to separate the royal

captives entirely; their silver plate was taken from them, and the brutal commissioners appointed to watch them were authorised to treat them as they pleased.

The Convention, having decided on bringing the king to trial, set out with appointing a committee of twenty-four members to collect all the charges and evidence against him. In addition to some unimportant statements of witnesses, these consisted of a great quantity of letters, accounts, and other papers found in the king's desk. They were afterwards increased by the discovery of a number of papers in a private closet, proving the secret connexion of the court with members of the first two National Assemblies, particularly with Mirabeau. Whatever objections may have been raised against the way in which the king's enemies seized these papers, without observing any of the forms required on such an occasion, they furnished undeniable evidence that Louis had kept up a correspondence with his emigrant brothers, that he had given sums of money to them and to many of his former servants, that he had been in communication with several members of the National Assembly, that he had approved various plans for counter-revolution, and paid large sums for agents and authors. But who could attribute to the unfortunate monarch, as crimes deserving of death, the natural feelings of affection for relatives and friends, or impotent plans of deliverance, forced upon him by the hardships of his situation, and never acted upon! Had the massacre of the 10th of August been occasioned by him, it might have afforded reasonable ground for a heavy charge; but Carra, the Jacobin, had boasted in print, that the attack on the Tuileries had been made agreeably to a plan which had long been prepared by himself, Robespierre, Danton, and other heads of the faction, in order to provoke the king to resistance, and thereby obtain a pretext

for putting him to death. In the worst case, the constitution had pronounced the sacredness and inviolability of his person, and appointed dethronement as the highest and only punishment for the king who should lead foreign armies against the nation for the destruction of the constitution. Of course then Louis, even if convicted, could not be punished further than he had already been by deposition.

This rampart, Valazé and Mailhe, the reporters, took great pains to demolish by fallacious arguments. The former was of opinion that the punishment of deposition was not applicable to Louis, as royalty was altogether abolished in France; and the latter maintained, that the inviolability pronounced by the constitution meant no more than that the king could not be tried either by an ordinary court of justice or a merely legislative assembly; that the hands of the nation itself were not tied by that provision; that its power was unlimited, and this power it had transferred to the Convention. The fate of the king was therefore to depend on this circumstance, that the authority which had arrogated a tyrannical power was now pleased to style itself the National Convention instead of National Assembly. In this exposition the Convention concurred, and decided by a decree that Louis might be brought to trial, and that it would sit in judgment upon him itself. A new committee was appointed to draw up a report on the crimes of the king, and to prepare a series of questions to be put to him on his examination.

This act of accusation, indictment, or impeachment, first adverted to his efforts to stop the march of liberty by public and secret machinations. It began with the 23d of June, 1789. Without making any mention of the fact that it was the king who had convoked the delegates of the nation, their assembly was repre-

sented as being from the first an independent sovereign body; and the attempt made by Louis on the above day to obstruct their meetings and deliberations was treated as his first offence against the national liberty. Just as little regard was paid to the general oblivion which the National Assembly had pronounced on the solemn acceptance of the constitution relative to all previous acts and occurrences. The first assemblage of troops, the refused confirmation of the first constituent decrees, the intended flight from Versailles, the entertainment in the opera-house, the flight to Varennes, nay, even the sanguinary scenes which had taken place in the Champ de Mars during the detention of the king, were among the charges. But the principal points were, that Louis had kept up a secret understanding with the foreign powers, and made preparations for the 10th of August, with a view to the slaughter of the citizens of Paris and the federalists, who had desired to approach the palace with the best intentions.

As soon as this report was ready, Louis was brought to the bar of the Assembly, to hear it read, and to answer such questions as should be asked him. This took place on the 11th of December, 1792. For several preceding days, the members of the municipality who had the superintendence over the Temple, had greatly increased the rigour with which the royal prisoners were treated, and caused them to be deprived, like convicts under sentence of death, of all cutting instruments, even to the smallest pair of scissors, for want of which the king went unshaved, and the illustrious females were obliged to forego the occupations with which they had beguiled the tedious days of their confinement. Louis might thence judge what would be the issue of his trial; and, in fact, neither himself, nor Marie Antoinette, nor his sister Elisabeth, had any doubt that he would fall a

victim to party-rage and malignity. With this certainty, he would assuredly have acted a more dignified part, had he refused to give his pretended judges any other reply than that he should not answer the questions of rebel subjects, or acknowledge them as his judges. But such energy was foreign to the character of the unfortunate prince: had he been capable of it, he might never have been brought in this manner to the bar of the Convention. He was, moreover, wholly unprepared; for, till the moment that he was fetched away, he knew not what awaited him on that day, and whether the noise of troops and artillery denoted preparations for his execution or the arrival of his deliverers. He was not even allowed to be shaved and to have his hair dressed, that he might be humbled as much as possible by his personal appearance.

The profoundest silence prevailed when, attended by the mayor and two generals of the national guard, he appeared before the Assembly. With his hat in his hand, he remained standing at the bar, within which those who had been his subjects were sitting covered. Barrere, the president, thus addressed him: "Louis, the French nation accuses you. The Convention has decreed that you shall be tried by this Assembly, and brought to its bar. A statement of the offences with which you are charged will now be read to you.—You may sit down." Precisely in this deep humiliation, Louis, so anxious and so timid, when at the pinnacle of power, appeared great from his fortitude. Amidst the compulsory neglect of his exterior, he displayed dignity and assurance; and his countenance exhibited the serenity and composure of innocence. The questions to be put to him had, with long deliberation in a committee, been most insidiously drawn up, for the express purpose of confusing and throwing him off his guard: but, as if the highest degree

of misfortune had cured him of his weakness, his answers, little as he was prepared, were prudent and pertinent; and the examination contrived for his debasement afforded him for the first time a triumph over his enemies.

But those who were bent on his destruction despised the forms of equity and justice, and his evil fortune, not his guilt, decided his fate. At the Jacobins his execution was anticipated as a matter of course; so that, on the 9th of December, Orleans published in the newspapers a declaration, contradicting the rumour that he was behind the curtain, and designed, on the death of Louis, to place himself or his son at the head of the government. In fact, the secret aim which the heads of the Jacobins steadily pursued was to give the republic a protector or dictator; though persons of the least sagacity needed no assurance that Robespierre and his accomplices had not destined Egalité for the ruler of France. The Girondists, nevertheless, now opened their fire upon the latter; and, on the 16th of December, amidst the warmest debates on the observance of the usual forms in the trial of the king, which they defended and which the Jacobins vehemently attacked, they suddenly brought forward a motion, that Orleans and his sons, as members of the house of Bourbon, should be banished from the soil of liberty, and obliged to carry to some other country the misfortune of having been born near the throne. So completely did this proposal coincide with the predominant feeling, that it was immediately converted into a decree, the execution of which the Jacobins had the greatest difficulty to delay. When, however, they had once gained time, they succeeded in compelling the repeal of the decree by a threatening petition from the municipality of Paris: for their leaders still needed the votes of Egalité and all his retainers for

the condemnation of the king; after they had served this turn, no matter how soon they should fall.

When Louis had returned from the painful scene of his examination to the Temple, he was informed that he would not be allowed to see his family any more, or to converse with the counsel whom the Convention had granted for his defence, unless in the presence of the municipal officers. Louis had chosen for his counsel two eminent advocates, Target and Tronchet; but the former declined the appointment upon the plea of illness. Old Malesherbes, one of those ministers of the king's early and happy days who had sought to avoid a revolution by a timely reform, offered unsolicited to render this service to his former master, and he was approved by the Convention; for, since the personal appearance of Louis, a more favourable feeling towards him prevailed; or rather the Gironde was convinced by the thirst of blood so unreservedly manifested by the Jacobins that nothing could save the king but a direct acquittal. What a meeting was that when the venerable Malesherbes fell into the arms of his unfortunate client, and wept over him! As, however, both his defenders deemed themselves scarcely competent to their task, owing to the infirmities of age, they obtained permission to call in Deseze, a younger lawyer, to their assistance. In eight days, these three went through the herculean labour of examining and arranging the numerous charges, of consulting upon them with the accused, and of founding upon them a defence, by which the innocence of Louis, or at least the invalidity of the accusation preferred against him, was demonstrated, without offending the Assembly, which had long declared him guilty.

On the 26th of December, Louis, attended by his three counsel, appeared for the last time at the bar of the Convention. Deseze delivered a speech in his defence,

which, for beauty of language, but still more for loftiness of sentiments and courageous frankness, deserves a place beside the greatest masterpieces of eloquence. "Frenchmen," he concluded, after he had exhausted all that reason, equity, justice, could suggest against the accusation—"Frenchmen, where is that old national character by which you were once so highly distinguished —that character of greatness and magnanimity? Will you place your power in completing the calamities of a man who had the courage to trust the representatives of the nation? Do you conceive that not a spark of pity is due to the direst extremity of misfortune? And do you consider a king, who ceases to be king, as not already so distinguished a victim of Fate, that it should seem to you impossible to make the slightest addition to his sufferings? The revolution which metamorphosed you has developed in you great virtues; but beware lest it weaken in your souls the feeling of humanity, without which there can be no genuine virtue! Listen even now to History, which will once say to posterity: 'Louis ascended the throne in his twentieth year, and in his twentieth year he exhibited upon the throne the example of an irreproachable life. He carried along with him not a single culpable weakness, not a single mischievous passion: he was frugal, just, grave; he always proved himself the warm friend of the people. The people desired the repeal of an oppressive tax — he repealed it. The people solicited the abolition of servitude — he began by abolishing it in his own domains. The people petitioned for a reform of the criminal law, in order to mitigate the lot of accused persons—he reformed it. The people wished that thousands of Frenchmen, whom the severity of our customs had hitherto deprived of civil rights, should enjoy those rights—by his laws he conceded them. The people desired liberty — he gave

it' " — here the preceding silence was interrupted by loud murmurs: raising his voice, the speaker thus proceeded—" ' nay, he anticipated their wishes by his sacrifices.' And yet it is now demanded in the name of this same people —— citizens I will not finish. In the presence of History, I stand silent. Recollect that History will judge your judgment, and that its verdict will be the sentence of all future ages !"

When Deseze had finished, Louis, with evident emotion, delivered the following written address: " Citizens, the grounds of my defence are now before you. I shall not repeat them. In addressing you perhaps for the last time, I declare that my conscience reproaches me with nothing, and that my defenders have told you only the truth. I have never been afraid that my conduct should be publicly examined; but it wounds me to the heart to find myself charged in the act of accusation with having wilfully caused the blood of the people to be spilt, and with being the author of the calamitous events of the 10th of August. I had hoped that the many proofs which I have at all times given to the people of my affection and sentiments would have secured me for ever from such an imputation." His eyes filled with tears. " Have you any thing more to say in your defence ?" asked the president. " No," replied Louis, and he was conveyed back to his prison.

A tumultuous discussion ensued in the Convention. The question was, whether the sentence which should be pronounced upon Louis was to be valid with or without an appeal to the people. The Girondists, who thought by this timid expedient to evade the execution of the sentence, while they hypocritically extolled its justice, were now rendered suspected by the Jacobins as traitors to the people and secret friends of the king. The same Brissot who, by word and deed, had contributed so

largely to the downfall of Louis, was now transformed all at once into the head of a party which was in correspondence with the foreign enemies of France; the same Petion who, as mayor of Paris, had so often been greeted with the acclamations of the people, was now silenced by furious cries, when, to his dastardly declaration that Louis was guilty and ought to be condemned, he added the proposal that this decision should be submitted to the approbation of the primary assemblies.

After the most violent demonstrations of mutual rage, which had long ceased to be confined to abusive language, the Assembly at length proceeded, on the 14th of January (1793), to vote on three questions: "Is Louis Capet* guilty?"—"Shall the sentence upon him be submitted for confirmation to the people?"—"What punishment has he deserved?"—The first was answered almost unanimously in the affirmative, the second negatived by 424 votes against 283. The third was not put to the vote till it had been resolved that the verdict should depend, not on two-thirds of the votes, as in other courts, but on a majority, though of only a single vote. Piqued at the imputation of being bad republicans, all the Girondists concurred in the sentence of death, with the unimportant limitation that the execution of the sentence should be specially discussed, or, as Brissot proposed, that it should be deferred till the new constitution should be accepted by the people.

The voting, which was to decide upon the king's life, commenced at seven in the evening of the 16th, and, as most of the members assigned their reasons in longer or shorter speeches, it lasted nearly twenty-four hours without intermission. Night increased the horror of this sitting. The deputies went confusedly out and in,

* This surname, given to the king during the proceedings, was taken from Hugo Capet, the progenitor of the royal family.

pursued by the most hideous yells from the galleries, and still more by their own thoughts. In mental anxiety they awaited the moment when they should be called.

Hazlitt, in his Life of Napoleon, has given a vivid picture of this sitting of the Convention, when "it might naturally be supposed that silence, restraint, a sort of religious awe would have pervaded the scene. On the contrary, every thing bore the marks of gaiety, dissipation, and the most grotesque confusion. The farther end of the hall was converted into boxes, where ladies, in a studied deshabille, swallowed ices, oranges, liqueurs, and received the salutations of the members who went and came as on ordinary occasions. Here the doorkeepers on the Mountain side opened and shut the boxes reserved for the mistresses of the duke of Orleans-Egalité; and there, though every sound of approbation or disapprobation was strictly forbidden, you heard the long and indignant Ha has of the mother-duchess, the patroness of the bands of female Jacobins, whenever her ears were not loudly greeted with the welcome sounds of death. The upper gallery reserved for the people was, during the whole trial, constantly full of strangers of every description, drinking wine as in a tavern. Bets were made as to the issue of the trial in all the neighbouring coffee-houses. Ennui, impatience, disgust, sat on almost every countenance. The figures passing and repassing, and rendered more ghastly by the pallid lights, and who in a slow, sepulchral voice only pronounced the word death; others calculating if they should have time to go to dinner before they gave their verdict; women pricking cards with pins in order to count the votes; some of the deputies fallen asleep, and only waked up to give their sentence—all this had the appearance rather of a hideous dream than of a reality."

The house to which the want of refreshment successively led the deputies was timely occupied by the Jacobins, and here neither persuasions nor threats were spared to decide the wavering and to frighten the timid. Some betrayed by the distortion of their features and the confusion of their language the doubts, nay, even the despair, with which they were struggling: but the fury of the Jacobins overpowered all scruples. Legendre, a butcher, is said to have conceived and proposed the idea, inspired no doubt by his trade, that the body of the king should be cut in pieces and sent to the departments; and Barrere employed this horrible flower of rhetoric, that the tree of liberty could not thrive unless it were watered with the blood of kings. Nevertheless, when Orleans, with an appeal to his duty and conviction, voted for death, a murmur of indignation ran through the whole assembly; and it was with reference to him that Sieyes, who followed, pronounced his well-known cruel vote: *La mort, sans phrase*—Death without palaver! Two of these legislators, one of whom was Condorcet, the philosopher, proposed that Louis should be condemned to the galleys. Robespierre proved, while voting for death, that the Convention had no right to try the king, but that it was a duty incumbent on it to condemn him to death without further discussion, as a traitor to France and an offender against humanity. "The blood of Louis must flow as a terror to tyrants." The president (Vergniaud) at length communicated, as the final result, that Louis had been condemned to death unconditionally by a majority of five votes. The appeal to the people, demanded by the king's counsel, agreeably to a written authority from himself, and supported by all the arguments which humanity as well as the forms of criminal justice could furnish, was opposed in a speech by Robespierre and rejected. The nation, he said, had condemned the king,

not only to exercise a signal vengeance, but to exhibit to the world a great example, to confirm the liberty of France, to found the liberty of all Europe, and, more particularly, to secure the public tranquillity. The Girondists, still more daunted by the victory of the Jacobins, now sought to earn their own pardon by the eagerness with which they joined in the opposition to the appeal. The protocol being again read, several declared that they had voted for death with respite of execution, but "in this limitation they had merely suggested the propriety of investigating the question relative to respite; their votes ought to be reckoned among those condemning unconditionally." They sought their excuse in the threat thrown out by the Jacobins that, in case of acquittal, the king and his whole family should be put to death by the populace; and that in this case too the dagger of popular justice should be directed against the deputies themselves.

On the 19th of January, the leaders of this party nevertheless made another effort, by means of a renewed discussion of the question whether the execution should take place forthwith, to obtain at least some respite. Several of those who had been pusillanimous enough to vote for death contrary to their conviction now boasted of the courage which they had shown in running the risk of an assassination, by declaring themselves in favour of delay. But so contagious was cowardice that the question, whether the execution of the sentence should be deferred, was negatived by a majority of 70 votes. On the other hand, two deputies, Kersaint and Manuel, both formerly zealous champions of the people, had the boldness to communicate their secession from the Convention, declaring that they could no longer endure the disgrace of sitting in the same place with bloodthirsty men. Manuel complained in his letter that, "having left the

hall for a few minutes for the sake of fresh air, during the long sitting of the 17th of January, he had been attacked and maltreated by a horde of judges, because he had not voted for death. The upright man," he added, "can do no more than wrap himself in his cloak,"

Malesherbes was the first to acquaint the king with the result of the votes. On entering his prison, he found Louis resting his head upon his hand and absorbed in thought. "For these two hours," said he, without making any inquiry concerning his fate, "I have been considering whether I have ever given any cause of complaint to my subjects. I declare to you, with the feeling of a man who is on the point of appearing before God, that I have never formed a wish contrary to the happiness of my people." He manifested composure and firmness, as he had long been prepared for the fatal catastrophe, and hoped by his death to procure some alleviation, if not liberty, for his family, for whose sake alone he still clung to life. When Malesherbes endeavoured to cheer him with the prospect that the sentence would not be carried into execution, because, as he left the assembly, he heard a number of persons protesting that they would rescue the king from his murderers at the cost of their own lives, he became uneasy, and urgently besought him to prevent the attempt. "I should not forgive you," said he, "if one drop of blood were to be shed on my account. I never would consent to it, when perhaps it might have saved my throne and life, and I do not repent it."

Garat, as minister of justice, was charged with the melancholy commission of acquainting the king with the decrees of the Convention. In the afternoon of the 20th of January, he repaired to the Temple, with Lebrun, another of the ministers, a deputation of the commune and of the criminal tribunal, and the secretary of the Executive Council. Hebert, the incendiary author of

Le Père Duchesne, and one of the persons appointed by the commune to watch the king during the latter part of his imprisonment, also accompanied Garat on this occasion, and gave the following account of what passed. "I was desirous to be included among those who were present when the sentence of death was read to Louis. He listened with extraordinary composure. When the reading was over, he demanded access to his family, a confessor, in short, whatever could afford him consolation in his last moments. His gestures and his words were so full of grace, dignity, nobleness, and greatness, that I could not resist them. Tears of rage moistened my eyelids. There was in his look and in his manner something evidently supernatural. I retired, striving to repress the tears which flowed in spite of me, and resolved that this should be my last ministerial act about him." — "This account," says Adolphus, from whom I transcribe it, "surpasses any eulogium that art, study, or even sensibility could dictate."

After the decrees had been read to him, Louis gave the minister a letter addressed to the Convention, applying for a respite of three days, permission to enjoy unmolested the society of his family during that time, and to have the attendance of a confessor, whose address he gave to Garat. He also expressed a wish that the Convention would take care of his family, and allow them to leave France. Some of these requests were granted, and that relative to his family was answered in the fine phrase, so signally falsified in the sequel: "The French people, always generous, will take care of those who are left behind." A respite was refused, and the following day irrevocably fixed for the execution. Louis was suffered to see his family again only to communicate to them these tidings. The despair of the queen, and the lamentations of his sister and children, rendered this scene so agonizing, that the king's firmness was almost shaken. When he

was alone, he fixed his eyes for a time in speechless abstraction on the floor, and then burst forth into the exclamation: "That was a terrible moment!" The consolations of religion strengthened him again, and he slept soundly the whole night.

On the morning of the 21st of January, the king rose at five o'clock, and received the sacrament. The noise occasioned by the movement of the troops ordered out to cover the execution was heard in the Temple; but it was about half past eight when Santerre, accompanied by municipal officers and gensdarmes, came to fetch the victim. The king went up to one of these commissioners—he was a constitutional priest, named Roux — with a paper containing his last will. "I request you," said he, "to deliver this paper to the queen—to my wife," he instantly added, correcting himself. "I have no other business here but to conduct you to the scaffold," was the inhuman reply. Another person took charge of the paper. In the course of the morning, the king had given Clery, his faithful valet, some commissions for his family, whom he had promised to see again, but on consideration he thought it better to spare them all the pangs of so cruel a separation.

In the second court of the prison, Louis got into a hackney-coach, followed by his confessor, the abbé Edgeworth, a member of the well known family of that name of Edgeworthstown, in Ireland, and by two officers of gensdarmerie. It proceeded slowly through the streets, covered with troops and artillery. The king's look was serious, but not dejected: he was perfectly resigned to his fate. The guillotine was erected in the Place de la Revolution, opposite to the Tuileries, near the pedestal of the demolished statue of Louis XV. When the carriage stopped, he said in a whisper to his confessor, "We have arrived, I suppose." On alighting from the coach, he was

surrounded by three executioners, who would have taken off his clothes; but he haughtily repulsed them; took off his coat, untied his neckcloth, opened his shirt, and arranged it himself. Perceiving that they were going to bind his hands, he betrayed a movement of indignation, and seemed disposed to resist; but submitted patiently when M. Edgeworth reminded him that this indignity would render him more like his Saviour. Firmly ascending the steps of the scaffold, he surveyed the surrounding crowd, and then cast a look at the Tuileries. The Place was occupied by innumerable spectators and national guards; and at some distance were drawn up several pieces of cannon charged with grape-shot, and pointed towards the scaffold. All at once, quitting the executioners, and crossing the scaffold to the side next to the palace, he silenced by his look alone the drums that were placed opposite to him, and said in a voice so loud as to be heard in the garden of the Tuileries: "Frenchmen, I die innocent! I forgive my enemies. I pray that God also will forgive them, and that my death may promote the welfare of France." The concluding words were drowned by the drums, which again began to roll at Santerre's command. The executioners laid hold of the king, and as the axe descended the abbé Edgeworth took leave of him in these memorable words, "Son of St. Louis, ascend to heaven!" One of the executioners, seizing the head, held it up, and waved it in the air to show it to the people, from whom the sight drew prodigious shouts of *Vive la nation! Vive la liberté!* Hats and caps were flung up. Furious wretches dipped their pikes and their handkerchiefs in the blood, and one of them gratified his cannibal propensity by tasting it, with the brutal exclamation that it was "shockingly bitter." The king's hair and bits of his clothes were sold by the executioners.

Among the spectators of this scene were observed no symptoms of pity, or of a sense of the atrocity committed. Most of them exhibited a ferocious joy, and the rest a stupid curiosity. Immediately after the execution, the rabble danced around the scaffold. Not a creature durst shed a single tear. At night all the theatres were crowded, and in three days the horrible act ceased to be talked of in Paris. Calumny alone raised her voice a few weeks afterwards, and, in order to deprive the hapless king of the credit due to the courage and fortitude which he exhibited in his last moments, Chamfort, an able writer, who had formerly been reader to the king's sister, Elisabeth, and was now a fiery Jacobin, alleged that, till the latest moment, Louis had cherished the certain hope that he should he pardoned, but, when undeceived, had exclaimed in pusillanimous despair, " I am undone ! " till he was placed by force under the guillotine. He appealed to the testimony of Samson, the executioner; but this man contradicted him in the newspapers, and declared that the king had displayed firmness and composure in his last moments.

The body of the king, conveyed in a cart to the churchyard of St. Magdalen, was thrown into a grave twelve feet deep, and covered with quick-lime to accelerate its decomposition. Here had been interred the remains of the unfortunate persons who perished during the festivities on occasion of his marriage, and those of the brave Swiss who fell defending the palace on the 10th of August. On this spot Napoleon commenced the splendid Temple of Glory after the battle or Jena, to commemorate the exploits of the French army, which, completed by the Bourbons on their restoration, now forms the church of the Madeleine, one of the most beautiful edifices in Paris.

Louis was thirty-eight years and five months old, when he fulfilled his destiny to suffer for faults as for crimes.

But it was not to him alone that these faults proved ruinous; for, if even a revolution had been inevitable, under an energetic monarch less dependent on those around him, it would never have taken so mischievous a direction. This is now evident enough; and every one can perceive that weakness and irresolution, inconsistency, and an unfortunate inclination to try all ways and to pursue none to the end, led Louis XVI. from the throne to the scaffold. At the same time, it must appear an extraordinary circumstance that, precisely at this conjuncture, the supreme power in France should be in the hands of one who possessed the greatest courage to suffer and to die as a martyr, but none to act as a king.

Bertrand de Molleville has most aptly characterised the king in these lines:

> "Il ne sut que mourir, aimer, et pardonner;
> S'il avoit su punir, il auroit dû régner."

The last line points to the democratic leaders of the revolution; but they were not the only persons in France to whom Louis owed his misfortunes, because he knew not how to keep them under control.

The last will of the king, written on the 25th of December, of which Gobeau had taken charge on the refusal of Roux, contained a profession of the orthodox Catholic faith; a petition to the queen to forgive him for all the sorrows which he had brought upon her; an exhortation to his son not to cherish animosity and revenge; a recommendation of Clery, Hue, and others of his faithful servants, to the nation; and thanks to his counsel. The whole of this paper breathes a spirit of truly christian meekness and benevolence. "I forgive," says the king, "with all my heart, those who have behaved to me as enemies without my having given them any occasion to do so; and I pray God to forgive them. I exhort my son,

if he should ever have the misfortune to be king,* to remember that it is his duty to study only the happiness of his fellow-citizens, and to bury in oblivion all hatred and all resentment, especially that which is excited by my sufferings and misfortunes; that he cannot make his people happy unless he reigns according to the laws; and at the same time that a king cannot procure respect, and carry into execution his good intentions, without possessing the requisite authority, otherwise his hands are tied; he inspires no respect, and does harm rather than good."

In the same spirit he wrote, the day before his execution, to his elder brother, Monsieur: "I submit to Providence and necessity in carrying my innocent head to the scaffold. My death imposes upon my son the burden of the royal dignity. Be his father, and govern the state, in order to transfer it tranquil and flourishing to him. It is my intention thou shouldst assume the title of Regent; my brother Charles Louis will take that of lieutenant-general. But it is less by force of arms than by the ensurance of true liberty and good laws, that thou wilt restore to my son his inheritance usurped by the insurgents. Forget not that it is stained with my blood, and that this blood calls to thee for mercy and forgiveness. Thy brother implores this of thee, thy king commands it."

The day after the king's execution, the municipality published his will, "as a proof of his crimes and fanaticism." They could not have raised a nobler monument to his memory.

Great was the triumph of the Jacobins on the final success of their schemes for the destruction of the king;

* This was no new sentiment with Louis: the first time that he appeared at court after the death of his father, the duke of Burgundy, and was saluted as dauphin, he could not help bursting into tears; and, in his grief on the decease of Louis XV., he exclaimed, "O God, must I then have the misfortune to reign!"

but that feeling was not shared by the sober part of the population of the capital. General consternation prevailed there. The shops continued shut and the streets deserted the whole of the day on which Louis suffered. Groups of assassins alone were to be seen, singing revolutionary songs as before the massacre in September. In this state of the public mind, a circumstance which occurred on the 20th of January was seized by the men of blood as a welcome occasion for producing other impressions. This was the murder of a deputy, Lepelletier St. Fargeau, one of those who had voted for the king's death, by Paris, who had formerly belonged to the life guard. This man had sworn to revenge the death of his master. It is believed that the duke of Orleans was the object against whom his fury was first directed, but, not meeting with him, and finding Lepelletier in an eating-house in the Palais Royal, he plunged his sword into the bosom of that deputy, who survived but a few hours. Though fifty persons witnessed this scene, the murderer escaped. After wandering about the country for some days, he reached Forges les Eaux, where his appearance and manner excited suspicions, and to escape apprehension he shot himself with a pistol.

When the death of Lepelletier was reported to the Convention, the Jacobin members raised a prodigious outcry. They represented this murder of their colleague as a proof of the existence of a conspiracy against their whole party. They insisted that the Girondists, in concert with the royalists, were the authors of this plot. Robespierre proposed fresh domiciliary visits for the discovery of suspected persons; and, after a long and violent debate, it was decreed that a new Committee of General Welfare should be chosen on the following day. That committee had hitherto been composed of Girondists, who were at least desirous of preserving order and tranquillity

in the capital; and in their stead none but furious Jacobins, authors of the September massacres, were now elected. It was also decreed that Lepelletier should be honoured with a public funeral, to be attended by the whole of the Convention, and that he should be buried in the Pantheon.

The way in which that funeral was conducted conveys some idea of the means employed by the dominant party to produce an effect upon the people, and deserves notice as illustrative of the manners of that time. The corpse, naked to the waist, was carried upon a bier covered with the blood-stained sheets upon which the murdered deputy had expired. The wound was exposed to view. Before it, the fatal sword and his bloody garments were borne at the end of pikes by men belonging to the lowest of the rabble. The body was set down by the pedestal of the demolished statue of Louis XIV., upon which was this inscription: "I shed my blood with cheerfulness for the country, and hope that it will serve for the consolidation of liberty and equality, and for the discovery of their enemies." At twelve o'clock the members of the Convention arrived in the Place Vendome. The president crowned the corpse with a wreath of oak. The procession was headed by a body of cavalry; next came a band of music, followed by national guards, the judges, the ministers, the members of the Jacobin club, male and female, some of them carrying the rights of man engraved on stone, others the statue of liberty; after them federalists, and then the corpse. The members of the Convention brought up the rear. In the Pantheon an oration was delivered, hymns of liberty were sung, and, by way of finale, the populace broke in pieces the bust of Mirabeau, their former idol.

Three days afterwards, the municipality, with a view to weaken the impression which it was but too evident

that the execution of the king had made, devised a new spectacle for the mob. Before the deposition of Louis, the tree of liberty had ceased to be a metaphorical expression: it had become the practice to plant large trees in the public places and before the principal buildings of the city, and to crown them with the red cap, the emblem of the Jacobins. At first, these trees were in general poplars, but that which the ruffians hired for the purpose placed before the entrance of the Tuileries was an aspen. When the English reader recollects that the French name for the latter is *tremble*, the reason for this substitution will be sufficiently obvious. As the designation of the poplar (*peuplier*) furnished occasion for satirical allusions, the fir was afterwards employed in its stead. On the 27th of January, one of these trees of liberty was planted with extraordinary ceremony in the Place du Carroussel. The Convention, the municipality, and a great concourse of people attended this fête, which concluded with singing and dancing. A bust of Brutus was paraded about, as the images of saints had formerly been, and treated with the same kind of reverence; and the name of the theatre of this farce was ordered to be changed from that day to the Place of Fraternity. All France soon imitated this example; and the republican armies did the same in all the towns of foreign countries which the fortune of war put into their possession.

CHAPTER XX.

INSURRECTION IN ST. DOMINGO.

We have seen the awful results of the new doctrine of the Rights of Man in France; let us now inquire what sort of fruit it produced in her West India colonies. The principal of these were the islands of Martinique and

Guadeloupe, and the western division of Hispaniola, or St. Domingo.

The latter extensive island, one of the first discoveries of Columbus in the New World, was computed to contain at that time a million inhabitants, a gentle, peaceful race, who, in the course of half a century, were nearly exterminated by the inhuman cruelties of the Spaniards. The colony was then neglected by these oppressors, whose attention was drawn to countries where the precious metals were more abundant. In the first half of the 17th century, French adventurers settled in the western part: they were encouraged by the government, and, in 1697, Louis XIV. obtained from Spain the cession of that portion of the island. This soon became a flourishing and important acquisition, furnishing in profusion all the different kinds of West India produce, which were cultivated, as in the colonies of other nations, by negro slaves imported from Africa. These constituted, of course, the bulk of the population; the whites consisting, in 1790, of 30,000, who paid taxes, besides two regiments, comprehending 1400 men, and others who were not rated. The mulattoes, who, like the whites, were free, amounted to between 24,000 and 25,000. The number of the negro slaves throughout the colony was not less than 480,000.

Many of the proprietors of estates in this island were extremely wealthy. De la Borde, a banker, is said to have derived from his plantations a yearly income of between fifteen and eighteen hundred thousand livres; and numbers of impoverished nobles had retrieved their fortunes by marrying into the families of these colonists.

Shortly before the commencement of the revolution in France, the discussions in the British parliament on the abolition of the slave-trade had attracted the attention of other nations possessing colonies. In Paris, a society, called The Friends of the Blacks, was formed, and, not

limiting its views to the suppression of the traffic in slaves, attempted the cultivation of some plantations in Cayenne by means of free negroes. When the celebrated declaration of the Rights of Man was promulgated, the leading persons of this society, the abbé Gregoire, Lafayette, Brissot, Condorcet, and others, despatched thousands of copies, to which were attached explanations and comments, to be distributed among the people of colour, many of whom, though themselves the owners of plantations and slaves, were not allowed to participate in the rights enjoyed by the white inhabitants. The latter, of course, took alarm at the new doctrine, the tendency of which was, in fact, to confer not only immediate liberty on every slave in the island, but all the privileges hitherto exclusively possessed by their masters.

Soon after the formation of the first National Assembly, the government, apprehensive that disorders might arise in St. Domingo from the proceedings in France, sent orders in September, 1789, to the governor, to convoke the inhabitants for the purpose of electing a legislative assembly for interior regulation. Before this order arrived, the Northern district had already constituted a provincial assembly, and its example was followed by the Western and Southern provinces. Meanwhile, the mulattoes, instructed by their brethren in the mother country in the nature and extent of their rights, began to show a spirit of sedition, and determined to claim, without delay, all the privileges enjoyed by the whites. Large bodies of them assembled in arms, but, acting without concert, were speedily overpowered. The provincial assemblies displayed at this juncture a most laudable spirit of moderation, granting an unconditional pardon on the submission of the insurgents.

Early in 1790, alarming reports reached France respecting the temper of the planters of St. Domingo, who were generally represented as disposed to renounce their de-

pendence, or to put themselves under the protection of a foreign power. The planters of Martinique were said to be equally disaffected; and the trading and manufacturing towns transmitted petitions, imploring the National Assembly to adopt measures for composing the minds of the colonists, and preserving to the French empire its most valuable dependencies. In March, the Assembly entered into the consideration of the subject, and voted by a large majority that it never was their intention to comprehend the interior government of the colonies in the constitution framed for the mother country, or to subject them to laws incompatible with their local establishments; that they, therefore, authorised the inhabitants of each colony to signify their sentiments and wishes respecting that plan of internal legislation and commercial arrangement which would be most conducive to their prosperity. To this decree was annexed a declaration that the Assembly would not authorise any innovation in the system of commerce in which the colonies were already engaged.

In compliance with an order from the king for convoking a general colonial assembly, the representatives of the towns and parishes met in April at the town of St. Marc. Among their first proceedings were the relief of the mulattoes from some oppressive regulations, and the reform of gross abuses in the courts of judicature; but their chief attention was directed to the preparation of a plan for a new constitution, or system of colonial government. By these efforts they made enemies of those who had profited by the old system, and of the adherents of the ancient despotism, including Peynier, the governor, Mauduit, colonel of the regiment of Port au Prince, and most of those who held military commissions under the king's authority. Mauduit, a man of talents, brave, active, and enterprising, soon gained an ascendency over the feeble-minded Peynier, and governed the colony in his name; and, to prevent a coalition

of interests between the colonial assembly and the free people of colour, he proclaimed himself the protector of the mulattoes, whom he courted on all occasions. The provincial assembly of the North was also induced to counteract, by all possible means, the proceedings of the general assembly, so that discord and dissension every where prevailed, and seemed to indicate an approaching civil war among the white colonists.

Such was the state of things when the colonial assembly promulgated the plan for the new constitution, which, among other fundamental positions, refused to allow a negative voice to the representative of the king, and declared that any decree of the National Assembly concerning the colony, in cases of external regulation, should not be in force till confirmed by the colonial assembly. No sooner was this decree published, than reports were circulated that this assembly had sold the colony to the English. Some of the parishes recalled their deputies; the people of Cape François, the capital of the Northern province, renounced obedience to the general assembly, and, in a memorial to the governor, requested him to dissolve it forthwith.

The Leopard, a ship of the line, was lying at this moment in the harbour of Port au Prince. The captain, who co-operated in the views of Peynier and Mauduit, had given offence to his crew, who mutinied, and made one of the lieutenants commander in his stead. The assembly voted their thanks to the seamen, and desired them to detain the ship in the road, and await their further orders; and, at the same time, some of their partisans took possession of a powder-magazine at Leogane. The governor now issued a proclamation to dissolve the general assembly, declaring the members and their adherents traitors to their country. Perceiving that formidable preparations were making against them, 85 out of about 100 members,

to which they were reduced by sickness and desertion, embarked on board the Leopard, and sailed for Europe, to justify their conduct to the king and the National Assembly. A momentary calm followed this event.

The colony might, perhaps, have continued tranquil for some time longer, had not Ogé, a mulatto, returned from France thoroughly heated with the doctrines of the violent faction there. Furnished by the Friends of the Blacks with money and letters of credit, he embarked in July, 1790, for New England, purchased arms and ammunition, and, in October, landed secretly in St. Domingo from an American sloop. His first step was to despatch a letter to the governor, reproaching him with not enforcing the provisions of the *code noir*, and declaring himself the avenger of the mulattoes, unless their wrongs should be redressed. During the next six weeks, all the efforts of Ogé and his brothers to excite revolt could not rally around him more than 200 followers, with whom he formed a camp at Grande Rivière, about 15 miles from Cape Town. To put a stop to the atrocities which they began to commit, especially upon persons of their own complexion who refused to join their ranks, troops were despatched from the Cape; the camp was stormed, after but a faint resistance; many of the revolters were killed, and about 60 made prisoners. Ogé himself took refuge in the Spanish territory.

The whites, especially those of the lower classes, were now filled with such animosity against the mulattoes, that the latter, alarmed by the threatening appearances, flew to arms in many places; but Mauduit repaired thither, and held secret consultations with their chiefs, after which the insurgents dispersed, but not till a skirmish had taken place at Aux Cayes, in which about 50 persons on both sides lost their lives.

In November, 1790, M. Blanchelande succeeded Pey-

nier as governor. At his requisition, Ogé and his companions were delivered up by the Spaniards. Twenty of the prisoners were hanged, and Ogé and his lieutenant Chavane were broken alive, and thus left to expire on the wheel. The day before this cruel execution, the former made a solemn declaration and dying confession, in which he detailed the measures pursued by the mulattoes to excite the slaves to rebellion; he named the ringleaders, and offered to conduct troops to the places where they held their meetings, if his life might be spared. It is almost incredible, but not the less true, that this information, which, if acted upon, might have been the means of saving the colony from all the subsequent calamities, was not only neglected, but actually suppressed. The commissioners appointed by the superior council of the Northern province to take Ogé's examination were members of that body, all of whom were devotedly attached to the ancient system; and the inference is, that they must have cherished the idea that scenes of bloodshed, devastation, and ruin, would cause the people to look back with regret to their former government, and gradually lead them to co-operate in effecting a counter-revolution. The planters, at any rate, scrupled not to declare that the royalists in the colony, and the republican party in the mother country, were equally criminal, while themselves were made the victims to the blind purposes and unwarrantable passions of two desperate and malignant factions.

The members of the general colonial assembly who sailed in the Leopard for France arrived at Brest on the 13th of September. They were received, on landing, with extraordinary honours and attentions; and the public sympathy was expressed by a general subscription for the supply of their necessities. In Paris, however, they had the mortification to find that their enemies had been beforehand with them, and that their cause was prejudged and their conduct

condemned without a hearing. On the report of the colonial committee, to which the matter was referred, a decree was issued that all the acts of the colonial assembly should be annulled, that this body itself should be dissolved, and its members were declared incapable of being elected to any future assembly. Such of them as were in France were to continue in a state of arrest till the National Assembly should signify its further pleasure concerning them. Testimonies of approbation were voted to the Northern provincial assembly, and to Mauduit and his regiment; and it was determined that the king should be requested to order the formation of a new colonial assembly, on the principle of the national decree of the 8th of March, 1790.

Inexpressible were the surprise and indignation excited by this decision in St. Domingo, except among the partisans of the former government; and it served to heighten and inflame the popular animosity against Mauduit and his regiment. This animosity was shared by the other troops in the colony, who declined holding any communication or intercourse with his men. Their former attachment for their commander was converted into hatred. They mutinied. Mauduit offered his bosom to their swords, and fell pierced with a hundred wounds, while not a hand was raised for his defence. Horrible enormities were practised on his dead body.

The colony was now distracted by most alarming dissensions. The men of colour insisted on admission into the colonial and parochial assemblies; the whites refused it. Meanwhile the National Assembly was preparing materials for a fresh explosion. A committee, appointed to consider the affairs of the colonies, had made a report, and proposed a decree, by which the Assembly would have left it to the next legislature to determine on the civil state and condition of all persons in the colonies, after having received the opinion of the colonists themselves on

the subject; and a secret committee of deputies from each of the islands was to discuss and to report that opinion.

On the 13th of May, when the question came to be discussed in the Assembly, all the friends of the blacks under Gregoire, the new bishop of Blois, and the more determined democrats, attacked the plan of the committee. Barnave, moved by the imminent danger which threatened the colonists, stepped forward to advocate their cause at the peril of his popularity, amidst repeated interruptions from hisses, murmurs, and groans. Encouraged by the popular societies and journalists, the minority rallied two days afterwards; and, when the article of the plan, leaving every thing open for the moment, and subject to the opinion of the colonies, was particularly taken into consideration, Rewbel moved the immediate admission into the colonial and parochial assemblies of all mulattoes and negroes born of free parents. Barnave warmly opposed this amendment, but was so repeatedly interrupted, that he was obliged to leave the tribune. Robespierre urged the expediency of granting the negroes the benefit of the rights of man in their fullest extent, enforcing it with the emphatic words: "Perish the colonies, rather than we should sacrifice one iota of our principles!" but this proposal was overruled. Perceiving Rewbel's motion to be in effect carried, the abbé Maury, after protesting against having any share in their laws, thought it necessary, for the sake of good morals, to make one addition—that the mulattoes to be admitted should prove the legitimacy of their birth. The suggestion was rejected with every mark of disapprobation.

The compromise made in this decree by no means satisfied the ports trading with the colonies. Bordeaux and some other places stopped all ships from sailing till they should have obtained an explanation to accompany the measure. This was given: but the royalists observed upon

it with triumph, and the violent democrats with indignation, that it shook from its base the celebrated declaration of rights on which the whole revolution was founded. The Assembly acknowledged that, like all other legislators, they must bow before that political necessity which circumstances impose, and subject to that domineering power every thing which had been represented as the "natural, inalienable, sacred rights of man." It was recognised, as the ground of the late decree, that local circumstances, and especially the cultivation on which depends the prosperity of the colonies, seemed to induce a necessity for admitting in the colonial constitution some exceptions to general principles.

The indignation with which the decree of the Assembly was received by the whites in St. Domingo is not to be described. They vowed to sacrifice their lives in resisting it, tore the national cockade from their hats, trampled it under foot, and mounted another, striped white and black. A vessel from Bordeaux with slaves, which chanced just then to arrive, was not permitted to land her cargo. "Take your slaves to the National Assembly," was the cry; "let them make active citizens and legislators of them." The governor, the president of the Northern provincial assembly of St. Domingo, and that assembly itself, wrote to the minister of the marine, to the National Assembly, and to the king, representing in the strongest terms the utter ruin which must infallibly ensue from any attempt to carry the decree of the 15th of May into execution. The merchants of all the western sea-ports of France presented similar remonstrances to the Assembly: and, on the motion of Barnave, it was at length resolved that the obnoxious decree should be provisionally repealed.

The mischief, however, was done: the remedy arrived too late. While the Assembly was considering how laws should in future be made for St. Domingo, that valuable

possession was exhibiting the most hideous caricature of the revolution in the mother country. No sooner was the decree of the 15th of May issued, than the Friends of the Blacks made preparations for carrying it into effect. Ships were secretly despatched from France with arms for the people of colour. In these vessels, two of the deputies sent by the mulattoes to the Assembly returned clandestinely to the island, and brought with them all the artifices used by the demagogues of Paris. They distributed libels and incendiary publications of every kind, and provided persons to read them in private meetings of the slaves who could not read. All was summed up in the favourite expression, "Perish the colonies rather than one of our principles." More immediately to excite them to open revolt against their masters, the king's name was employed, as it had before been in France, to inflame the populace and the peasantry against the nobles and the priests. It was industriously circulated that, through the influence of the abbé Gregoire, the king had given liberty to the negroes, but that the white colonists withheld the boon. Gregoire was, in consequence, considered as their patron, and, by a pleasant mistake, some of them wore in honour of him leaden medals, representing the Catholic saint of that name.

In proportion as the slave population of St. Domingo was more savage and unenlightened than the lowest classes of the inhabitants of the mother country, in the like proportion did the labours of the missionaries of the rights of man produce results more awful and destructive in that island. Nor was it long before those results began to manifest themselves. On the 16th of August, a negro on the plantation of M. Chabaud, near Limbé, about six leagues from the Cape, was detected in an attempt to set fire to a sugar-warehouse by his master, who secured him after a severe struggle, and put him in irons. On his ex-

amination, he confessed that the negroes of the neighbouring plantations had entered into a plot for murdering all the whites and burning their houses, and pointed out as principal ringleaders four of M. Flaville's negroes. When made acquainted with this charge, the agent of that estate had so much confidence in the attachment which he had deserved from those under his management, that he called them together, told them of the accusation and his own disbelief, urged the enormity of such a crime, and offered his head as an atonement if he had injured any of them. With one voice they declared that the story was a gross calumny, and swore aloud inviolable fidelity to their master. He now considered himself perfectly secure.

A week afterwards, in the night between the 22nd and 23rd of August, the insurrection broke out, and the negroes kept the oath of fidelity which they had sworn to him only a week before by bursting into the bed-chambers of his family, and murdering them all. M. Chabaud's negro had also pointed out a slave belonging to M. Blin, named Paul, as one of the ringleaders in the plot; but his master placed such confidence in this man's integrity and attachment, that he would not listen to the accusation. This same Paul, however, now murdered five of his master's family; and, though the wife of the agent implored mercy for him on her knees, the butchers were inexorable. Herself and her three daughters they dragged away with them, telling the latter that they should be spared to serve their pleasures. The carpenter of the plantation they bound between two planks, and deliberately sawed him asunder. A youth of sixteen who witnessed these horrors was the only white on this estate who escaped alive, though with two wounds. When the murderers had finished the work of slaughter, they set fire with torches to the buildings and the cane plantations.

Every thing was soon in a blaze. This was the appointed signal. All the neighbouring gangs instantly started to arms. Wherever were any white inhabitants, young and old, men and women, were indiscriminately sacrificed, and the houses and cane-fields fired.

By daybreak on the 23rd of August, the collected force of the rebel blacks exceeded 3000 men, more than 600 of whom were provided with fire-arms, and they had also two small pieces of cannon. At this time there was but a single regiment of troops of the line at the Cape, while the town contained 800 slaves and 15,000 mulattoes, into whom, indeed, the Friends of the Blacks had taken great pains to instil the new principles of liberty, and who were of course not to be trusted. The governor, having made the best arrangements in his power for the safety of the place, sent out a party of volunteers and infantry of the line against the strongest body of the rebels, amounting to about 4000 men. These were attacked, and many of them destroyed; but the commanding officer, finding the numbers of the rebel blacks increase in more than a hundredfold proportion to their losses, was obliged to return to the town. A chain of posts and camps was formed to prevent the insurrection from spreading beyond the northern provinces. Two of these camps were attacked by the negroes, who were here openly joined by the mulattoes, and forced with great slaughter. At Doudon, the whites maintained the contest for seven hours, but, overpowered by the infinite disparity of numbers, they were compelled to give way, after losing one hundred of their comrades, and to seek refuge in the Spanish territory.

The whole of the rich and extensive plain of the Cape and the contiguous mountains were now wholly abandoned to the ravages of the blacks, who continued to perpetrate the most horrible cruelties on such whites as fell into their hands. Many instances of most unnatural ingratitude

are recorded. M. Pottier, who lived at Port Margot, had given his freedom and 10,000 livres to one of his negroes, and a piece of land to his mother, who raised coffee upon it; he had taught him, moreover, to read and write. It was this very negro who excited all his master's slaves to rise, and who headed them to fire his buildings and plantations, and those of his relatives. For this conduct the rebels selected him for their general. At La Grande Rivière, M. Cadineau had given their freedom to two natural sons by a negro woman, and brought them up with great tenderness. Both joined the revolt; and, when their father endeavoured to dissuade them from their purpose by soothing language and pecuniary offers, they took his money, and stabbed him to the heart. At Acul, M. Chauvet-Dubreuil, a member of the general colonial assembly, was also murdered by his natural son, a mulatto, only sixteen years of age. It is indeed a melancholy fact that those slaves who had experienced the greatest kindness and indulgence from their masters were precisely those who betrayed the latter; and that, if they abstained themselves from putting them to death, they gave them up to the daggers of the murderers, and took the most active part in the insurrection. Yet, for the honour of human nature, it should also be acknowledged that there were some who, at the risk of their own lives, repelled with disdain all attempts to seduce them, and that their integrity was afterwards deservedly rewarded by liberty conferred with the most public and honourable solemnity.

The crimes committed in this struggle for the French rights of man are dreadful in the recital, but they are due as an awful lesson to the world. A few facts may be added to those which have already been related.

M. Blin, an officer of police, was nailed alive to one of the gates of his plantation, and his limbs were chopped off one by one with an axe. Many planters were bound to

trees, and burned alive; others were flayed alive, and drum-heads made of their skins. Infants were commonly slaughtered before the eyes and clinging to the bosoms of their mothers. One of the rebel chiefs is reported to have had the throats of several prisoners cut in his presence, that he might drink their blood fresh and reeking. Another carried about with him fifty white women, whom he subjected by force to brutalities which no narrative of these abominations has found words to describe or even to intimate with any precision. In some instances, an affectionate wife was stretched on the mangled body of a beloved husband, and there violated by the slave whom his murdered master had most distinguished by kindness. On other occasions, a tender father, bound hand and foot, was condemned to behold his daughters deflowered; and they, in their turn, amidst lamentations over their own sufferings and disgrace, were forced to look on while he expired in tortures, and then butchered on his bleeding remains. Many women, having provoked death by resistance, satisfied with their flesh the cannibal appetites of the monsters whose lust they had defrauded.

Nor did the ferocity of their nature, stimulated as it was by the new principles, show itself only against those whom they considered as their enemies: it was wreaked on their confederates, their countrymen, their kindred. Such of their own race as declined joining in their excesses they frequently seized and roasted by the next fire. They were sometimes seen placing in the front of the battle old men, women, and infants, to ward off the first shock of their adversaries. When they were in want of surgeons, they shut up their wounded in a hut, and set it on fire. Their different chiefs were always at bitter enmity with each other: they commanded so many parties always ready for mutual destruction; they exercised over their followers an absolute despotism and unparalleled

tyranny; their claims to superiority were outrages of nature. It is related of a leader of the blacks that, having killed with his own hand not only his master, but his own father, his brothers, his wife and his children, he exhibited the dead bodies to his accomplices as proofs of his courage and titles to their confidence.

The false use which had been made of the king's name saved the lives of one or two persons who were in his service; and from this circumstance pains were afterwards taken to prove a connexion between this revolt of the slaves and the royal cause: but the examinations and confessions of those murderers who were taken and brought to justice pointed to the real source of the mischief. "He was not a bad or a cruel man," said the prisoners; "we killed him for the sake of the nation. They have laboured in France to give us freedom."

One hundred thousand negroes were now in a state of insurrection. All the dwellings, warehouses, and plantations in a great part of the Northern province were destroyed. The beautiful, fertile, and highly cultivated plain around Cape town, a country which had supplied half Europe with sugar and coffee, was deluged with blood and covered with heaps of ashes. The Creoles, filled with horror and consternation, united in troops for their defence, and sold their lives as dearly as they could.

Blanchelande, the governor, convinced that it was impossible, with the small number of troops at his disposal, to quell such a rebellion, wrote to the authorities of the Spanish part of the island, requesting them to direct their forces to march to the frontiers, and to order them to join the French troops, if necessary. He wrote at the same time to solicit the assistance of the governor of Jamaica, and of the president of the United States of America.

The flames of rebellion, hitherto confined to the Northern

province, now began to break forth in the Western division of the colony; where the insurgents, chiefly mulattoes, ravaged and burned the country for an extent of thirty miles, practising the same ferocious barbarities on the whites who fell into their hands as the negroes had done in the North. Their chiefs, however, finding their attempts to gain over the blacks in this quarter less successful than they expected, alleged that they had taken up arms not for the purpose of ravaging the colony, but merely in support of the decree of the 15th of May, and that they were not averse to a reconciliation. On the 11th of September, a concordat, or convention, was concluded, the whites engaging to put the decree in question in full force, and promising an oblivion of the past. They even manifested a disposition to grant indulgences to such free people of colour as were not comprehended in the provisions of that decree; and they gave freedom to several hundred negroes who had fought against the common foe.

In the mean time, the insurrection of the blacks continued to spread. As the rebel army increased, so did their boldness and their sanguinary cruelty. Dismay pervaded Cape François, for intelligence arrived that the negroes intended to attack the town in the night. For greater security the governor posted a detachment of 200 men at Petit Anse, which had the advantage of being supported on the sea-side by two frigates. He also laid an embargo on all vessels in the harbour of the Cape, that, in case of need, they might serve for a refuge to the women and children. All the avenues to the town were occupied; the inhabitants were up all night, most of the houses illuminated, the men under arms, and the slaves closely watched. Some small bodies of the rebels who approached the place were repulsed with great loss. Relinquishing their plan of investing the town, they again

spread themselves over the plain. They roved through the country without molestation, fell upon the villages and plantations, burning, plundering, and destroying, murdered the defenceless inhabitants, and forced all the negroes they found to join them.

The first succours that reached the unhappy colony were from North America. On the 1st of September, 150 volunteers, provided with arms and ammunition, arrived in the road of the Cape to assist the whites. Soon afterwards, several small vessels, despatched by lord Effingham, governor of Jamaica, brought 6000 muskets and a supply of military stores. The Spaniards, on the contrary, though joint occupants of the island, not only refused their aid to quell this dangerous rebellion, but denied an asylum to the fugitives who had fled to their territory, and drove them back: the consequence was that they fell into the hands of the bloodthirsty negroes, and were slaughtered without mercy. It was even alleged that the Spaniards had the inconceivable impolicy to sell to the rebel blacks arms, ammunition, and cannon, which were paid for with the money derived from plunder. So much is certain that, in a short time, their army was abundantly supplied with all necessaries, and that they had at their head whites, who soon placed their force in a condition not only to defend itself, but also to act offensively. They took several positions occupied by the whites, and slaughtered the soldiers whom they found in them.

After the arrival of the succours from America and Jamaica, a considerable corps was sent against the rebels. Several of their camps were attacked and stormed, and in all of them were found many white Creole women, whom the negroes had spared for the gratification of their lusts. Such of the slaves as were made prisoners declared that the most violent dissensions prevailed among the leaders of the rebels; that the chiefs exercised despotic authority,

punishing the slightest offence with death: and that more negroes had perished in this manner than in all the encounters with the whites.

The unfortunate colony had soon to struggle with another and not less dangerous enemy—famine. This was most severely felt at the Cape. The town was not provisioned: the utter devastation of the surrounding countries deprived it of all supplies. The free mulattoes, aware of the suspicions of the white inhabitants, which were by no means unfounded, at length resolved to unite with them in defence of their common country. They applied for arms and ammunition, offering their wives and children as hostages for their fidelity. The offer was accepted, and the mulattoes, in conjunction with the troops of the line, gained more than one victory over the insurgents. In a proclamation worded in conciliatory language, the governor then summoned the slaves to return to their duty, and sent it by twelve dragoons to the negroes. Seven of them were butchered by the rebels, and the others narrowly escaped with their lives. Under these circumstances, it was a severe mortification to the governor that the regiments of Normandie and Artois were in such a state of insubordination, that no dependence could be placed upon them.

The number of the rebels still continued increasing, and they spread themselves further from day to day. By the middle of September, they had reached the mountains, which afforded them a convenient retreat and impregnable fastnesses. Joined by runaway slaves, who had there found an inaccessible asylum, and were ferocious as wild beasts, the rebels displayed a more savage inhumanity than before. Happy were those whites who were despatched at once when they fell into their hands. They hung up by the heels a Creole named Pirot, lighted a tar-barrel underneath him, and slowly roasted him till he expired. Aged men and children were burned alive. They dashed out

the brains of infants against the walls, and ripped open pregnant females. Some men they threw into boiling sugar; others they mutilated in the most horrible manner.

In battle they were spiritless and cowardly. At Galifet a corps of whites put to flight the whole negro army, and took seven pieces of cannon, which the rebels had brought with them. At the first fire they were thrown into such confusion that their guns could not be properly placed or worked: they rushed against, and in their rage slaughtered, one another. They spared those of their own colour no more than they did their white enemies. At Grand Ancre were found 61 negroes and mulattoes hung from trees by the blacks themselves.

The United States had by this time supplied the colony with abundance of provisions, while the blacks began to suffer from want. A great part of them quitted the rebel army and fled to the Spaniards; others returned to the desolated plantations of their masters. Six of the members of the colonial assembly were sent to Europe to represent the distress of the colony, and to solicit speedy relief from the mother country.

The concordat concluded with the mulattoes very soon furnished occasion for dissensions between them and the whites. The majority of the latter highly disapproved this compact, and positively refused to fulfil its conditions. The mulattoes, on the other hand, insisted on their observance; and commissioners were appointed to arrange the articles of a new agreement. The provincial assembly of the Northern division of the island annulled the concordat as soon as it was communicated to them. This the mulattoes regarded as a declaration of war, and the commencement of hostilities against them. They assembled at Croix aux Bouquets, to the number of between three and four thousand, and incorporated with themselves several hundred picked slaves, whom they armed. Having

organized their force, they made known that they designed to attack Port-au-Prince. The inhabitants of the town, aware that they could not resist, made an attempt at reconciliation with them. Both parties appointed commissioners to draw up articles of peace, which were based on those of the concordat. After this reconciliation, the mulattoes sent into the town a thousand men, who did duty there in conjunction with the patriotic troops.

Such was the state of things in the island, when the decree of the 24th of September, repealing that of the 15th of May in favour of the mulattoes, arrived there. It declared that the external relations and commerce of the colonies should alone be subject to the direct legislation of the parent state, and that the colonial assemblies should possess the exclusive authority to legislate, with the approbation of the king, for the internal condition and rights of the different classes of the inhabitants. The whites now assumed a totally different tone. Appealing to the decree of the National Assembly, they again violated the contract made with the mulattoes; and the general colonial assembly adopted a resolution entirely hostile to the interest of the latter. The white Creoles, habituated to a life of luxury and sloth, were wholly incapable of keeping the field for any length of time. Without the aid of the mulattoes, they could never have quelled the insurrection. Their services being absolutely indispensable, the whites found themselves obliged to comply with their demands. It was a scandalous breach of faith to refuse to fulfil the agreement as soon as the danger was over; but a second violation could do no less than destroy all confidence, and inflame the mulattoes to the highest pitch of fury.

It is difficult to decide which produced the greatest calamities, the decree of the 15th of May, or its unexpected repeal, just at the moment when the concordat with the mulattoes had begun to heal some of the dissensions raging

in the unhappy colony. No sooner was information received of this repeal, than all hope of a cordial reconciliation and amity between the whites and the people of colour vanished for ever. It was not possible to persuade the mulattoes that the planters in the colony were wholly innocent or ignorant of the transaction. They accused the whites of the most abominable duplicity and breach of faith, and publicly declared that the conflict between the two classes must be continued till one of them was utterly exterminated.

The mulattoes soon contrived to send parties of men of their own colour into the town of Port-au-Prince. They waited for an opportunity to revenge themselves, and it was not long before one occurred. On the 21st of November, the inhabitants met in primary assemblies to elect their magistrates; and, on the way thither, a negro slave, who served the mulattoes as a drummer, snatched the sword of a citizen from his side. The negro was seized, carried to prison, and condemned to be hanged forthwith. The mulattoes took the part of the black, declared that he was free, and insisted that the execution of the sentence should be deferred. To avoid dispute, the municipal council consented that the matter should be more closely investigated; but the ferment among the citizens rose to such a height, that the negro was taken by force out of the prison and immediately hanged. The mulattoes revenged the death of the negro a few hours afterwards by shooting a citizen while riding through the streets. The inhabitants were no longer to be controlled. They assembled; the alarm-bell was rung; the drums beat to arms; and the citizens drew up in military array. The municipality, foreseeing the fatal consequences which might result from this contest, sent deputies to the mulattoes to demand the delivery of the murderers. The mulatto leaders replied that, not knowing who were the murderers, they could not deliver them up,

and expressed their sorrow for the occurrence. So far from appeasing the whites, this answer only increased their rage. Regardless of the persuasions of the municipality and other sensible persons, they marched for the purpose of dispersing the mulattoes, and driving them out of the town.

The mulattoes, apprized of this intention, entrenched themselves in the citadel. They were well provided with artillery, and it was expected that they would make an obstinate resistance. Unable to restrain, the municipality deemed it their duty to support the citizens. They ordered the troops of the line to join them. They marched accordingly against the mulattoes, who were soon dislodged by their united efforts. Most of them fled from the town; but some remained concealed in the place, which they set on fire. A high wind arose; the conflagration spread wider and wider; and, in the space of twenty-four hours, more than one-third of the handsome and opulent town of Port-au-Prince was reduced to ashes.

During the fire, the municipality sent another deputation to the mulattoes, who had assembled at Croix aux Bouquets, to make peace and a new convention with them. Before they would hear of any compromise, the mulattoes insisted on four stipulations, which were immediately assented to; for in this quarter of the island they were by far the stronger party, and now assumed a tone of command towards the whites.

This pacification was not general. Joined by a great number of whites without property, the mulattoes laid waste all that the devastations of the negroes had not reached. In the Northern province, the only towns left were the Cape and Fort Dauphin; and these, cut off from all succour, expected the same fate as the others. The Creoles transmitted the most urgent letters to the king and the National Assembly, but neither troops nor military stores were sent to their relief.

The cruelties committed by the mulattoes on the whites surpassed conception. They cut off their ears, and wore them on their hats for cockades; they forced a man to eat the flesh of his own child; they—but the mind and the pen recoil from the recital of further horrors. To the disgrace of the whites, they were not far behind their savage foes in barbarity. In the district called Cul de Sac, where the negro slaves had joined the mulattoes, a sanguinary engagement took place. The negroes, placed in front, and acting without any kind of discipline, left 2000 of their number dead on the field: about fifty of the mulattoes were killed, and several taken prisoners. Among the latter was one of their leaders, who was placed on an elevated seat in a cart, and secured by spike-nails driven through his feet into the boards. After he had been paraded in this condition through the city of Port-au-Prince, his bones were broken, and he was thrown alive into the flames.

In the month of February, 1792, the number of the insurgent negroes and mulattoes in St. Domingo was about 180,000, and they were masters of the whole French part of that island, with the exception of the two towns abovementioned. All was one wide desert.

As soon as the king had received authentic accounts of the state of the colony, he ordered his ministers to lose no time in providing for its relief. On the application of the minister of the marine, the National Assembly granted the sum of ten million livres for this purpose: but, though a squadron was equipped, and troops, arms, money, and provisions were embarked, the Jacobin members of the Assembly found means to delay its sailing. The six members of the general colonial assembly, sent from the Cape to the legislature of the mother country, appeared at the bar on the 30th of November, representing the state of the colony, and soliciting immediate assistance. They

estimated the losses sustained by the planters before their departure at 600 million livres, the number of the negroes who had perished at 15,000, and that of the murdered whites at 1000.

The National Assembly finally decided by a decree on the 5th of December, that in all the West India colonies of France the mulattoes of every shade of colour and the free negroes should enjoy a perfect equality of rights with the white inhabitants, have votes at all the elective assemblies, and be themselves eligible to offices of every kind. By this decree it was further enacted that three civil commissioners should be sent to St. Domingo, with a sufficient force for the restoration of order and tranquillity; and the colonial assembly was required to communicate its opinion as to the constitution, laws, and administration that would be most conducive to the prosperity of the colony.

When the commissioners, accompanied by a force of 3,000 men, arrived in December, 1791, at Cape Town, which they found blockaded by the negroes, their first step towards pacification was to proclaim a general amnesty. It was received with apparent satisfaction by the insurgents, but by the colonial legislature with cold distrust. Toussaint, the ablest and most civilized of the negro chiefs, repaired to the town, and professed the readiness of the negroes to return to their duty, if their rights, as settled by the National Assembly, were acknowledged. His language, more like that of an independent power than of rebels receiving pardon, filled the planters with indignation. They insisted on the unqualified submission of the slaves and the punishment of the authors of the insurrection. The negroes, enraged in their turn, could scarcely be restrained by Toussaint from murdering all the prisoners in their hands. The commissioners took part with them. Hostilities, suspended during the nego-

ciation, were resumed with increased fury. The mulattoes joined the blacks, and an attempt to surprise Cape Town had well nigh succeeded. Fire and sword laid waste the last remains of that so lately flourishing colony. The rebel negroes themselves began to be thinned by disease and famine. Having destroyed the growing crops, and devoured the cattle of all kinds on the plain, they had now taken possession of the surrounding mountain districts, where their chief leader, Jean François, a man of great sagacity, compelled them to plant provisions for their future subsistence.

The commissioners, men without either character or abilities, finding themselves very lightly regarded, and having no force to support their authority, soon returned to France. Troops had indeed arrived, but, in the spirit of the times, they paid very little obedience either to the commissioners or to the governor-general.

Three new commissioners, violent Jacobins, were appointed, with unlimited powers to settle the affairs of the island; and with them were sent 8,000 troops, carefully selected from among the national guards, to put an end to the disturbances. They were accompanied by a new governor to supersede Blanchelande.

On their arrival in September at Cape François, finding the governor at variance with the colonial assembly, they immediately dissolved that body, and shipped off the unfortunate Blanchelande as a state prisoner to France, where, as to be accused was to be condemned, he soon afterwards perished under the guillotine. Desparbes, the new governor, having ventured to show some signs of dissatisfaction with the conduct of the commissioners, was soon despatched after his predecessor.

These men were suspected in the colony of an intention to declare a general emancipation of the negro-slaves. With a solemn oath they denied any such design. Ha-

ving by secret communications with the chiefs of the mulattoes gained their co-operation, they soon found that they were strong enough to avow themselves the patrons and protectors of the whole body of the free negroes and people of colour. By these means, and, above all, by bestowing largesses on the troops, and by acquiring a desperate band of auxiliaries, composed of revolted slaves and vagabonds of all colours, mostly collected from the jails, two of the commissioners, who got rid of their colleague by relinquishing to him a share of their common plunder, had made themselves at the beginning of 1793 absolute masters of the colony. The lives and property of the white inhabitants were at their mercy, and they sent great numbers of them in a state of arrest to Europe, to answer to such accusations as they thought fit to prefer against them.

The Convention, too much engaged with the tragic scenes then acting in France to pay much attention to the affairs of St. Domingo, or to the complaints that were made of the tyrannical proceedings of the commissioners, merely appointed a new governor in the person of M. Galbaud, an officer of artillery, and a man of fair character, who was received with great joy at Cape François. The commissioners refused to recognize his authority, and both parties prepared for hostilities. Galbaud, at the head of 1200 seamen from the ships in the harbour, reinforced by a considerable body of volunteers, marched to attack the government-house, where the commissioners were defended by the people of colour, and a body of regulars; but, after a fierce and bloody encounter, he was obliged to retire to the arsenal. On the following days many skirmishes took place in the streets; but the governor, finding his cause hopeless, retired with most of his adherents to the ships.

On his first approach, the commissioners had despatched

messengers to call the revolted negroes to their assistance, offering them an unconditional pardon for past offences, perfect freedom in future, and the plunder of the city. The rebel chiefs François and Biassac rejected these offers; but, just after Galbaud had withdrawn, Macaya, another leader of the blacks, entered the town with upwards of 3,000 revolted slaves, and began an indiscriminate slaughter of the white inhabitants, who fled from all quarters towards the sea-side, in hopes of finding shelter on board the ships, but a body of the mulattoes cut off their retreat. The carnage was continued with unremitting fury for three days, when the savages, finding no more victims, set fire to the city, above half of which was consumed. Such was the fate of the beautiful capital of St. Domingo, a place which, for trade, wealth, and magnificence, ranked among the first cities in the West Indies. Most of the inhabitants who were fortunate enough to escape to the ships sought refuge in the United States, but about five hundred of them perished in a frigate which foundered on the passage.

Thus was a colony for ever lost to France, which before the revolution contained a population of 600,000 souls, which exported annually 672 million pounds of sugar, and nearly 87 million of coffee; which sent to the mother country produce to the value of £6,720,000 sterling, which imported from it goods amounting to little short of ten million; and the trade of which employed 1680 ships, and 27,000 seamen. Place against this picture that of the present condition of St. Domingo, with a population reduced below one half, without shipping, and without any other traffic than that arising from the exportation of about 32 million pounds of coffee.

CHAPTER XXI.

REVOLUTION IN POLAND.

While a revolution, based on the pretended rights of man, was producing results so deplorable both in the Old World and the New, a nation of eastern Europe, whose political institutions had hitherto tended to involve it in ceaseless anarchy, was regenerating its constitution, without bloodshed, without violence, almost without difference of opinion.

Poland had been for ages an hereditary monarchy, which the turbulence, ambition, and jealousy of the nobles rendered elective in the 16th century. The nation comprehended but two classes, nobles and serfs; and the former seized every opportunity to strip the king of one prerogative after another, and to extend the privileges of their own order. They alone had a seat in the diets or great councils of the nation, and from among them exclusively could the king appoint archbishops and bishops, waywodes, castellans, and ministers. These dignitaries composed the senate, or the upper body of the diet, the lower consisting of the representatives elected by the nobility of the palatinates. Not only was a unanimity of voices required to pass any measure in this assembly, but, if a single dissentient voice opposed one bill, all those brought forward during the same session were thrown out, and the diet had deliberated and debated for six weeks, for to that space the session was limited, to no purpose. This absurd right was called the *liberum veto*.

This state, composed of the provinces of Poland, properly so called, and the grand-duchy of Lithuania, was designated a republic; and with as much propriety might its chief magistrate have been denominated president as

king. The limited nature of his authority will appear from the *pacta conventa*, the conditions, which on his knees at the altar he swore to observe before he could be proclaimed. The principal articles of this contract, which might be regarded as the great charter of Poland, were, that the king should not attempt to encroach on the liberty of the people, by rendering the crown hereditary in his family; but that he should observe all the customs, laws, and ordinances, respecting the freedom of election; that he should ratify all treaties with foreign powers approved by the diet; that he should not coin money unless in the name of the republic; that he should make neither war nor peace, nor raise levies, nor hire auxiliaries, nor bring foreign troops into the Polish territories upon any pretext whatever, without the consent of the diet and senate; that he should not marry, borrow money, or equip a naval force, without their approbation; that he should regulate with the senate the number of forces requisite for the defence of the country, and administer justice with the advice of that body and his council.

The sovereign being thus deprived by degrees of all but the mere shadow of royal authority, the extravagant pretensions of the nobles, having no salutary counterpoise, gave rise to parties and to domestic feuds, and not only facilitated but even invited the interference of the neighbouring powers: while the country, a prey to anarchy and dissensions, political and religious, remained behind the other states of Europe in the arts both of peace and war, and in all those pursuits which tend to humanize the mind and to embellish social life.

Upwards of a century before the first partition of Poland, king John Casimir had, with the spirit of prophecy, predicted its fate at the diet of 1661, in these remarkable words: — "Amidst our internal feuds we have to dread foreign invasion and the dismemberment of the republic.

The Moscovite will subjugate all the people who speak his language, together with the grand-duchy of Lithuania; the house of Brandenburg will take Prussia and Great Poland for its share; Austria will not forget herself in this general partition, but secure Cracow and the surrounding provinces."

Russia harboured an old grudge against Poland. The Poles had wrested from her several provinces, and even had for a moment a garrison in Moscow. She was, therefore, actuated by revenge, and by the desire of aggrandizement. This was the policy left by Peter I. to his successors. After the death of king John Sobiesky, whose gallantry under the walls of Vienna saved that capital, and perhaps half Europe, from the clutches of the Ottoman, the influence of the czar prevented the elevation of the prince of Conti to the throne of Poland, and transferred the crown to Augustus II., elector of Saxony; and by his aid that prince was finally enabled to triumph over his rival, Stanislaus Leczinsky, whom the victorious Charles XII. of Sweden had set up in his stead. By means of this civil war, the Russians acquired a footing in Poland. The consequences were soon apparent. On the death of Augustus, when the general wish would have called Stanislaus to the throne, two bishops and some of the nobles, gained by Russia, protested against his election, and solicited the support of the empress Anne. A Russian army entered Poland, and placed Augustus III. upon the throne. Stanislaus was obliged to leave the country, and 1500 French who had come to his assistance were made prisoners in Dantzick, in 1733. Augustus was crowned at Warsaw, in the presence of marshal Münich and the Russian troops. In return for this service, he ceded to the empress some districts of Courland, and conferred that duchy on a favourite of the czarina's.

From this moment the Poles began to perceive the necessity of a reform, particularly the expediency of making the crown hereditary, and abolishing the odious privilege of the veto. No sooner was Catherine II. aware of these intentions, which were adverse to her policy, than she adopted measures to counteract them. Frederick the Great of Prussia coincided the more readily in her views, because he needed the support of Russia against Austria; and in 1764 he concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with that power, by a secret article of which both engaged to maintain the existing constitution of Poland by force of arms if necessary. Ten thousand Russians entered Warsaw, to dictate, sword in hand, the election of Stanislaus Poniatowsky, a former favourite of Catherine's, and a Prussian corps assembled on the frontiers to overawe the Poles.

The republic was now stripped of even the shadow of independence. Her enemies were masters of her territory, her king, and her laws, which they turned against herself. Stanislaus, with a sincere regard for the interest of his country, was desirous to reform the constitution, and to abolish the *liberum veto:* but his mighty neighbour threatened to exercise the right with which her self-assumed guarantee of the existing order of things invested her; and thus contrived to divide the king from the nation, and to keep one in check by means of the other. She was artful enough to support the various religious parties, Greeks, Protestants, and other dissenters from the predominant Catholic faith; she exiled to Siberia two bishops and a senator, who opposed her proceedings, and acquired in Europe the character of the protectress of liberty and religious toleration.

The Russian ambassador at Warsaw was the virtual sovereign of the country. The king and the constitution were merely instruments in his hands; and the influence

of a foreign power stifled all patriotic principles. The opponents of that power were denounced as unruly spirits, bad citizens, rebels: they were sent into banishment, and their estates confiscated. The Poles, seeing the royal and judicial authority perverted into engines of Russian oppression, had recourse to arms. The duke de Choiseul, then at the head of the French government, convinced of the necessity of repressing the ambition of Catherine, induced the Turks to declare war against her. Encouraged by these favourable prospects, several of the Polish nobles formed an association at Barr, a small town in Podolia, and protested with arms in their hands against the interference of Russia in their constitution, and the right which she had assumed to control the sovereign and the legislature of Poland.

The confederation of Barr, favoured by the recall of the Russian troops, supported by the Turks and Tartars, and encouraged by French subsidies and officers, among whom were Dumouriez and Viomenil, contended for four years, with various fortune, against difficulties and dangers of every kind. For four years the wretched country was desolated by war, famine, and pestilence: it was forgotten by France; the vanquished Turks made peace; the victorious Russians turned their arms against Poland, and the confederation of Barr was broken up.

The king and the nation now awaited in anxiety the manifestation of Catherine's further designs against them. They were not left long in suspense. A partition treaty was concluded in 1772 by their three powerful neighbours, who each seized a portion of the Polish territory contiguous to their respective dominions. The plan of this robbery of a friendly state is alleged by superficial writers to have originated with Frederick the Great; but much may be urged in excuse, if not in justification, of the part which he acted in it.

The fact is that Austria set the example of this spoliation, in 1770, by taking possession of districts of Poland bordering on her Hungarian dominions, upon the pretext of ancient claims. Catherine, influenced by this example, conceived that she had an equal right to a slice of the devoted country; and Frederick, who declares that he had no other means of preventing war but to join in this plan, needed not much persuasion to perceive that the acquisition of that part of Poland which interposed between East Prussia and his German dominions would be most important for the consolidation of his monarchy, and he had little difficulty in making out a claim quite as valid as that of Austria. There can be no doubt that, had a less selfish policy swayed the courts of Berlin and Vienna, their forbearance would only have served to facilitate the absorption of the whole country into the dominions of an already too powerful neighbour.

Poland, with fourteen million inhabitants, submitted without a struggle to this most unjust spoliation of one third of her territory; and not a voice was raised against it by any of the other powers of Europe. In February, 1772, the king was obliged to summon a diet, and 10,000 men sent to Warsaw by each of the partitioning sovereigns, extorted the cession of the provinces rent from the republic and the signature of new treaties of alliance. The Poles were forced to bind themselves not to keep more than 30,000 men under arms. The crown was declared to be for ever elective: none but a Polish nobleman was in future to be chosen, with the exclusion of the sons and grandsons of the last king. When the diet was not sitting, the executive power was no longer to be vested in the king alone, but to be consigned to a permanent council, consisting of the sovereign and several senators; and no alteration whatever was to be made in the laws without the express assent of the three powers.

Such was the melancholy and mortifying condition of the Poles for a series of years, during which they meditated on the means, and awaited an opportunity, for throwing off a detested yoke. The kingdom still numbered from six to seven million inhabitants. The long succession of evils which had befallen the country since the accession of Stanislaus, had incensed great part of the nation against him. He was regarded as the obsequious tool of Russia, and destitute alike of the will and the energy to resist her usurpations. It is questionable, however, whether any other prince in his place could have warded off the calamities by which Poland was beset. An eminent writer, (Segur) says of him: "It was his unhappy fate, during his whole reign, to be tyrannized over alternately by his subjects and his neighbours. As he possessed little energy and a superior understanding, the latter only served him to foresee his misfortune, without enabling him to avert it." Still it is undeniable that, during this reign, with which the nation was so dissatisfied, that the change was effected in the system of education in Poland, by which a new generation was formed, and men were produced, who were qualified by their abilities, talents, and knowledge, to take a distinguished position, to become useful to the country, and to raise it from the deep degradation into which it had sunk. With the gradual formation of national schools, and the adoption of an improved system of education, things assumed a more cheerful aspect.

Ten years of peace had afforded abundant leisure for digesting plans for rescuing the nation from a state of thraldom, when, in 1788, the diet, called the constitutional or four years' diet, was convoked. All who felt conscious of talents were eager to obtain a place in an assembly which was expected to alter and finally fix the fate of Poland. Russia, in alliance with the emperor Joseph, was at this time engaged in a war with Turkey. Alarmed at

the union of the two empires, and apprehensive that Poland would be drawn into their league, the king of Prussia strove to interest England, Holland, and Sweden in behalf of Turkey, in order to save the Porte and to set bounds to Russian ambition. All these powers agreed that Poland ought to be included in this new confederacy, but that it was requisite, above all things, to procure for it an independent form of government, free from the control of any foreign influence.

To this end, Frederick William, through his ambassador at Warsaw, assured the diet of his friendly intentions, declared that he should always be ready to fulfil his obligations and the general guarantee towards the republic, and that he would never interfere in their internal affairs, or interrupt the freedom of their deliberations. Russia, on the contrary, gave notice that she should consider the slightest alteration in the constitution of 1775 as a breach of the existing treaties. Such was the confidence produced by the declaration of Prussia, that thenceforward no project of reform was proposed without being communicated to the minister of that power, and to Mr. Hailes, the English ambassador. The augmentation of the army to 100,000 men was decreed; and a commission, independent of the king and council, was appointed to organize it. The diet insisted that the Russian troops should quit Poland forthwith, and that such of them as were destined for Turkey should not march through the territory of the republic. As it was the opinion of the assembly that an alliance could not be concluded with Prussia and the other friendly powers till the abuses of the government were reformed, and till it was strengthened by sound and solid institutions, the session of the diet was prolonged to an indefinite period.

On the 7th of September, 1789, the diet appointed a deputation to consider the reforms requisite in the diffe-

rent branches of the administration, and to prepare the plan of a new constitution. This deputation consisted, agreeably to the law prescribing its formation, of five members chosen by the king from among the ministers and senators, and six by the chamber of deputies, all of them distinguished by their experience, patriotism, and talents.

The diet had not been wholly inactive during this interval, but its attention had been mostly engaged in unimportant matters. The permanent council, which Russia had created and hitherto upheld, was dissolved; and this was one of the boldest steps taken by the assembly. It had been unanimously resolved to negociate a loan of ten million florins for the exchequer of the crown, and one of three million for Lithuania. The partisans of Russia meanwhile rejoiced in the tardiness of the diet, and purposely brought forward subjects that would lead to long discussions. Had the real patriots, men who saw things in their true light, been listened to, the operations of the diet would have been accelerated as much as possible, and the constitution of the 3rd of May, 1791, proclaimed eighteen months earlier, by which means Poland would have been saved. During that interval, her government would have had leisure to acquire consistency and vigour; she would not have lost the advantages of an alliance proposed in all sincerity by the king of Prussia, and given the empress Catherine time to make peace with Sweden and Turkey; and she would have prevented the advances made by Russia to Frederick William, in consequence of the internal disturbances in France in 1792.

Towards the end of 1789, the Prussian monarch made a new offer of his friendship to the diet, soliciting theirs, and expressing his desire, in which he said Holland and England participated, to form such relations with Poland as no intrigues should have power to disturb. With this

view he wished that the form of government to be given to Poland might be decided upon as speedily as possible, for upon that depended the welfare and the stability of the republic. Lucchesini, the Prussian ambassador at Warsaw, repeatedly declared that the king of Prussia considered the establishment of a good form of government as a far greater political benefit to Poland than the formation of a formidable army with a constitution which exposed the republic to incessant discord and revolutions. Hailes supported this opinion, and both ambassadors intimated that they thought they had a right to ask that their courts should not be left any longer in uncertainty respecting the fate of Poland. Nothing was now talked of but fixing the basis of a new constitution.

The spirit which pervaded the members of the diet in general was excellent, and their objects were pure. The majority of them wished to overthrow the oligarchy which had so long ruled both the king and the nation, and to found a monarchy under which the political independence and the civil liberties of Poland should be ensured. There was little difference of opinion, unless about forms, for the subjects which came before the assembly for its decision had rarely, if ever, been started in former diets, and, therefore, appeared new and strange. This was not the case in regard to the question of taxes and patriotic donations. It was decided without much opposition that the nobles should pay one tenth of their income, and the holders of starosties, or crown-fiefs, half their revenues. At the same time it was agreed that the country-people should be taxed no higher than usual. Besides the decreed imposts, the inhabitants of Great and Little Poland and Lithuania made considerable donations to the public exchequer; and the king and the clergy followed their example. On the 30th

of December, the diet adjourned to the 3rd of February, 1790.

Meanwhile Russia had intimated to the court of Berlin that she should not throw any impediment in the way of an alliance between Prussia and Poland. This declaration was officially communicated to the diet. Soon afterwards the Prussian ambassador informed the deputation of foreign affairs that his master approved the project of a reform undertaken by the diet; that he was ready to offer Poland a defensive alliance; and that he proposed to reduce the duties on the productions of the republic imported into his dominions one half: but he acknowledged that the king was desirous of possessing the cities of Thorn and Dantzick, with their districts, for which he was disposed to make an advantageous compensation. He added that he was instructed to wave this point if it should meet with opposition and difficulties; he therefore insisted more particularly on the treaty of alliance and commerce. In a confidential communication, Lucchesini stated that Russia had offered to put his master in possession of Great Poland if he would continue neutral during the war with the Turks. This communication, which passed from mouth to mouth, silenced all the opposition members; the treaty with Prussia was unanimously voted, concluded, and ratified on the 5th of April.

It was now rumoured that Austria would be required to restore part of her Polish acquisitions to the republic as a compensation for Thorn and Dantzick, if these were ceded to Prussia. The emperor Leopold, who had succeeded his brother Joseph, was no party to this proposal, which had well nigh produced a rupture between the two monarchs, whose differences, however, were adjusted in the conferences at Reichenbach in July, 1790. The convention to which they led was of great importance to Poland.

There was no further question of the cession of Gallicia as a compensation for Thorn and Dantzick; and Leopold learned that Russia had suggested this plan to punish him because he was not disposed to continue the war with the Turks. Catherine would not have scrupled to rob the emperor in order to conciliate Prussia; and Poland would gladly have given Thorn and Dantzick in exchange for the provinces ceded to Austria.

A report was also circulated soon afterwards that Poland was threatened with a new partition: this the king ordered his ambassador at Warsaw to contradict in the most positive manner, and to declare that not only was there no question of a further partition, but that he should be the first to oppose such a measure. The conferences of Reichenbach, by bringing the courts of Berlin and Vienna closer together, naturally tended to excite suspicion and uneasiness in the Poles. Those conferences, however, had no relation to the affairs of Poland. The Netherlands were in rebellion to the emperor, and Hungary threatened to assert its independence. He was sensible that he could not reduce the one or curb the other till he had put an end to the war with the Turks. He knew that Prussia had instigated the Porte to continue the war; he knew, likewise, that the court of Berlin could prevent him from marching an army to the Netherlands. His situation, therefore, as well as his naturally peaceful disposition, caused him to reject the counsels of his minister, Kaunitz, who would have plunged him into a new war. Frederick William assented without difficulty to the march of the Austrian troops to the Netherlands, with the proviso that those provinces should not be treated as a conquered country, but left in the enjoyment of their ancient privileges. A second condition which he required of the emperor was, that he should make a truce with the Turks,

preparatory to a treaty of peace, by which he should engage to restore all his conquests to the sultan. These stipulations were punctually fulfilled.

For more than a year and a half Poland had attracted the attention of all Europe. The king of Prussia had declared that he considered it a particular honour to be the first ally of so brave and so noble a nation. England and Holland promised themselves, from the change of the political system in Poland, far greater advantages for their commerce with that rich and fertile country than it had hitherto enjoyed. The French government assured the diet of its friendly sentiments in the strongest terms; while the partisans of the revolution hailed with enthusiasm the dawn in Poland of those principles of liberty, which they fondly hoped to see spreading from one end of Europe to the other. But this was a false calculation, for the members of the constitutional diet acted upon principles widely different from those of the French revolutionists, though they were in the sequel accused of Jacobinism.

To avoid the inconvenience of separating before the new constitution was finally arranged, as the time fixed for the closing of the diet was approaching, the assembly resolved that a new election of representatives should take place, and that these should be added to the former, by which means the numbers would be doubled. The new members took their seats on the 10th of December, 1790; and this increased number seemed to bring an accession of energy and determination. Alarmed by reports of a new partition continually arriving from abroad, the patriotic members conceived the idea of submitting the entire project of the new constitution, and urging its acceptance in a single sitting. To carry this measure, it was absolutely necessary that it should be communicated to the king.

The plan drawn up by the deputation was accordingly submitted to Stanislaus, who desired to keep it a short time that he might examine and make remarks upon it, and expressed his intention to lay it before the assembly himself. He made no alterations in it; and the 3rd of May was fixed for its presentation to the diet. On the evening before that remarkable day, the patriotic members met in the Radziwill palace to hear the new constitution read. It was hailed with universal applause, undisturbed by the slightest opposition, although some Russian partisans had inadvertently been admitted. The members then repaired to the house of Malachowski, marshal of the diet, where part of the night was spent in collecting their signatures.

The sitting of the 3rd of May took place in the presence of several thousand spectators, whom curiosity had drawn at an early hour to the king's palace. After a suitable address from the marshal, the deputation of foreign affairs was requested to read the reports transmitted by the Polish ambassadors at the different foreign courts, that the assembly might be informed of the designs of their neighbours which threatened the safety and existence of the country. After the reading of these interesting despatches, from which the danger impending over Poland and the necessity for establishing the new constitution without delay were but too apparent, marshal Potocki, stepping forward, emphatically addressed the king in these words: "It is for you, sire, whose rank raises you above every assault of jealousy, and who possess a conciliatory disposition, the most extensive knowledge, and correct judgment —it is now for your majesty to propose the means which can alone save the country from destruction."

The king then addressed the assembly. Under existing circumstances, he said, nothing would conduce more to the welfare of the state than to approve at once a consti-

tution digested with not less wisdom than skill, and which remedied the ancient abuses that had crept into the present system. He added that, deeply impressed with this truth, he had a plan to communicate to the assembly: but he had to observe that there was one article—that concerning the succession to the throne—on which he thought it right to withhold his opinion till the assembly had expressed their sentiments on so important a question. The plan was read by the secretary; a warm discussion of several hours ensued, and, though the opposition members were extremely violent, there was manifestly a great majority in its favour. At length one of the deputies, named Zabiello, said that he had ever been a determined enemy to arbitrary power; but, as he could not discover, in the plan submitted to the assembly, any thing perilous or alarming to liberty, he besought the king and the deputies to lose no time in taking the oath to the new constitution. The proposal was greeted with a general shout of applause. Rising with one consent, the members moved towards the throne, and surrounded the king.

Stanislaus, having called the bishop of Cracow to read the oath, repeated it after him in a loud voice, adding, "I have sworn, and shall never repent it. I beg all those who love their country to follow me to the church, and to repeat the same oath there." Descending from the throne, he proceeded from the palace to the church, followed by the whole assembly, with the exception of twelve members, and by an innumerable concourse of citizens and spectators. The procession stopped at the steps of the high altar. The interior of the church presented a magnificent spectacle. The bishops in their pontificals, the ministers, the ambassadors, the lay members of the senate, the representatives of the people in their splendid national costume, with the king at their head, were assembled, and solemnly swore to uphold that constitution, which was to

found and to establish the prosperity of Poland. The sublime ceremony terminated with a Te Deum, an offering of praise to the Supreme Being for a revolution, as it was called, unattended with bloodshed or even violence of any kind.

By the new constitution, the crown was to be no longer elective: after the death of the reigning king, it was to devolve to the elector of Saxony, and then to be hereditary in his family. The Roman Catholic was acknowledged to be the religion of the state; the diet was invested, as before, with the legislative power, and the king retained a deliberative voice. The diet was to assemble every two years, and on extraordinary occasions, as in case of foreign war, of internal rebellion, of the minority of the king, or of his lunacy, it was to be extraordinarily convoked. The executive power was committed to the king under the responsibility of the ministers, whom he was to dismiss if the representatives of the nation should declare that they had lost their confidence. A law passed on the 18th of April, which had conferred on the burghers of the towns nearly equal rights with the nobles, was confirmed in all its parts; and the deputies of the burghers were admitted into the diet. At the expiration of two years, these were to acquire the right to be ennobled as well as all those who in the public offices attained the rank of councillor of regency, and in the army that of captain. During each diet thirty other citizens might be ennobled on the solicitation of their towns. The *liberum veto* was for ever abolished. Such were the principal points of the new constitution; and the diet declared that every one who should attack or conspire against it, or disturb the peace of the nation in any way, should be treated as an enemy to the country, and brought to justice as a traitor.

Throughout all Poland, this constitution was received

with prodigious rejoicing and enthusiasm. In foreign countries, the ablest men of all parties joined in unqualified commendations, and Burke, in his Appeal to the Old Whigs, pronounced a warm panegyric upon it, as did Fox also in the House of Commons. Frederick William, too, testified through his ambassador his satisfaction at the revolution so happily accomplished, which had at length given to Poland a wisely and well regulated constitution; and Herzberg himself, the old enemy of Poland, could not help praising the wisdom of the principles by which the Poles had been governed.

But, while the Polish nation was congratulating itself on the choice which had been made of a future sovereign, and all the friendly powers were applauding the revolution and this choice, the elector of Saxony, who was thoroughly acquainted with the political relations of Europe, and too prudent to accept without consideration a crown which had cost his ancestors so many sacrifices, and the possession of which might so easily be disputed by Russia, returned evasive answers to the proposals transmitted to him from Warsaw. After a negociation of several months, he signified that he could not accept the offer but on certain conditions, the first of which was that the Poles should make sure of the consent of all the neighbouring powers. As it was impossible to fulfil this condition, he might have spared the specification of the rest. Russia had already testified her disapprobation, and it was evident that the elector was not disposed to offend that power. Indeed the ultimatum of the court of Dresden was not delivered till the Russian army was on the point of entering Poland.

Meanwhile the diet took but few steps to give strength and consistency to the revolution. A measure which the king had much at heart was to draw closer the bonds of confederation between the kingdom of Poland

and the grand duchy of Lithuania, which together constituted what was called the republic of Poland; and to smooth the way for a perfect union. With this view a proposal was made to unite the treasuries and armies of the two nations by means of joint commissioners, consisting of an equal number of each. Though opposed at first, the measure was adopted, and declared to be an integral part of the act of union between the two members of the republic.

On the other hand, Stanislaus was much annoyed by the revival of a question which he had already once stopped by his interference. This was the sale of the starosties or crown-fiefs, in imitation of the course pursued by the National Assembly in France. The scheme was strenuously opposed by the king's brother, the prince-primate, who considered it as an attack upon property of every kind, and said that "he was afraid lest the habit of imitating the revolution of another country might in the end introduce those fatal lamps, by the light of which the French had extinguished religion, honour, and common sense." With a view to induce the starosts to come forward and, by the sacrifice of a part, to defeat a project for the pillage both of them and of his crown, Stanislaus made an offer of one-tenth of the lands assigned to maintain his table, and new duties were proposed to balance the deficiency of the public revenue. The offer of the king was declined by the diet; none of the starosts manifested a disposition to follow his example; and in the end it was decreed that all the crown-fiefs should be sold for the benefit of the public, with the proviso that compensations proportioned to their rights should be made to all persons having an interest in them. By this decision, the influence of the crown was very materially diminished.

Meanwhile the Poles, free from care, at least from fear, gave themselves up to rejoicing, and in all assemblies, in

all companies, in the streets, and the public places, were heard new national songs, the burden of which invariably was, "The nation and the king, the king and the nation." The first anniversary of the new constitution approached, and for a while all more important matters seemed to be wholly forgotten. The day was celebrated with the utmost pomp. A magnificent procession, headed by the king, his court, the ministers, and generals, went, amidst the acclamations of 50,000 spectators, to the church of the Holy Cross; and vocal music, composed expressly for the occasion by the celebrated Paesiello, was executed by first-rate Italian singers. From the church the procession repaired, in the same order as before, to the place where the diet had decreed that a new temple should be erected in memory of the constitution; and the king laid the foundation-stone of the building. His majesty dined at the town-house. A theatrical entertainment and a general illumination of the city concluded this day, almost the last that a blind confidence and chimerical hopes served to embellish.

From this time the political horizon of Poland became darker and more dark. Every courier that arrived at Warsaw brought alarming accounts either of the renewal of amicable relations between the courts of Berlin and Petersburg, or of the approach of the Russian troops, or of the domestic intrigues of the three great adversaries of the new constitution, Felix Potocki, Branicki, and Rzewuski, who, separating themselves from the rest of the nation, strove to make proselytes to the cause of Russia by promises and threats. Those who were intimately acquainted with the king, and knew his weakness, disbelieved his promises. But it was more particularly the peace concluded by Russia with Turkey, and the unexpected death of the emperor Leopold a few weeks afterwards, that gave a new turn to affairs, and hastened the downfall of Poland.

On the 16th of April, 1792, the deputation of foreign

affairs presented to the diet an official report on the hostile demonstrations of Russia. Concerning the sentiments of Prussia, it could state nothing precise, though it had strong suspicions, for the negociations of the two courts were kept profoundly secret. All these circumstances necessarily alarmed the government: the diet, nevertheless, maintained an imposing attitude, and prepared to meet the dangers that threatened the State. Never did greater harmony and unanimity prevail in that assembly than at this time. The most important measures were carried without opposition. They invested the king with a power which had not been entrusted to any of his predecessors. They placed the whole army at his disposal; they authorized him to appoint foreign officers in the artillery, and engineers, and even such generals as he thought proper; they ordered the commission of the treasury to pay him thirty million guilders as soon as war should commence; and they empowered him to call out the arriere-ban, or militia, in case he should think the army of 100,000 men insufficient.

During the negociations between the court of Vienna and France, the armies of Russia were set in motion, and marched in several columns towards the Polish frontiers. No sooner had intelligence arrived that the National Assembly had declared war against Austria than M. Bulgakow, the Russian ambassador at Warsaw, delivered to the king, in the name of the empress Catherine, a declaration complaining that the Poles had disregarded a guarantee such as hers, though it was eagerly sought by the greatest states, especially those of Germany, as the best means of securing their independence and possessions. All the proceedings of the diet were misrepresented, and charged with illegality, usurpation, and violence. Every thing done or said offensive to Russia was recapitulated: the orders for the evacuation of the country by her troops in 1789, the

condemnation of some of her subjects for a treasonable conspiracy, the freedom of speech in the diet, but above all, the mission of an envoy to Constantinople, and the conclusion of a treaty with the Porte. All these provocations, however, the empress professed her willingness to pardon, in her equity and generosity to the Polish nation. Still she could not turn a deaf ear to the claims of those patriots who had demanded the performance of her guarantee, and her support of a confederation in which they had united for the restoration of law and liberty to the republic, deprived of both by the pretended constitution of the 3rd of May. Her troops, she said, came only as friends to co-operate in this good purpose; and she concluded with exhorting the Poles to commit themselves with entire confidence to the magnanimity and disinterestedness of her Russian majesty.

This declaration of war, for such it really was, though no more than might have been expected from the known character of Catherine, burst upon the Poles like a clap of thunder. The diet, before any decisive measures were taken, resolved to communicate the Russian declaration to Lucchesini, the Prussian ambassador, conceiving that, in consequence of the treaty of alliance concluded with Frederick-William, they had a right to claim his assistance against the threatened invasion. The ambassador evaded giving a positive answer, on the plea that he expected instructions from his court; but he remarked verbally that, as his master had taken no share in the new constitution, he did not consider himself bound to afford support to its partisans. Stanislaus, desirous of coming to an immediate explanation on this point, wrote to the king of Prussia, to acquaint him with the hostile denunciations of the Russian empress, and to learn his intentions.

We have seen with what apparent sincerity the king of Prussia urged the establishment of a new constitution in

Poland: his answer showed how total a change had since taken place in his sentiments and policy. He complained in his reply that the republic had, without his knowledge and co-operation, given itself a constitution which he had never thought of supporting. "From the moment," he continued, "that the restoration of the general peace of Europe allowed me to explain myself, and the empress of Russia acquainted me with her decided disapprobation of the revolution of the 3rd of May, my sentiments and the language of my ministers have not changed. Since considering calmly the new constitution which the republic has given itself without my knowledge and co-operation, I have never thought of protecting or supporting it. On the contrary, I have predicted that the threatening measures and warlike preparations must infallibly excite the displeasure of the empress, and bring upon Poland those evils which they were expected to avert. The result has justified my views. Your majesty will feel that, as the state of things since the treaty which I concluded with you is totally changed, and the present conjunctures produced by the constitution of the 3rd of May are not applicable to the obligations stipulated therein, it does not depend on me to comply with your majesty's expectations, while the views of the patriotic party continue the same, and while they persist in upholding their work."

Threatened in one quarter, denied assistance in another from which they had a right to claim it, the Poles, even such of them who had hitherto shown the most independence, fearlessness, and patriotism, might well feel alarmed. The diet, however, nothing daunted, enlarged the powers conferred on the king, and granted to those Polish subjects who had been induced to seek the protection of the Russian empress and the interference of her troops a delay, in hopes that they might perceive and make amends for their error. The king, on his part, de-

clared that he should put himself at the head of the army, and solemnly promised, at the peril of his life, to defend the constitution and the independence of the nation. The sittings of the diet were provisionally suspended.

Patriotic donations poured in from all classes for the purpose of increasing the army, and putting it into a condition to defend the country. Numerous volunteers, equipped at their own expense, hastened to join it; and nothing could exceed the general enthusiasm and the impatience manifested by the nation to see the king at its head. Had Stanislaus, at this critical moment, instead of shutting himself up in his palace, sacrificed his ease to the glory and independence of the country, and repaired to the camp, the struggle which ensued might perhaps have had a different issue.

Immediately on the delivery of the declaration of the empress, her armies, under generals Kochovski and Kreczetnikoff, who had commanded divisions against the Swedes and the Turks, entered Poland at two points, Lithuania, and the Ukraine, with the evident intention of pressing forward to the capital. Their forces consisted of 80,000 troops of the line and 20,000 Cossacks.

Kochovski penetrated with three corps into the Ukraine, where prince Joseph Poniatowsky, the king's nephew, had been appointed to the chief command of the Polish troops. The king, notwithstanding his solemn promise to put himself at the head of the national army for the defence of the country, began to waver in his resolution, and at length gave it up. Still it was not doubted that he would repair to the camp formed near Warsaw; and, in consequence, a great number of volunteers flocked thither, so that the force collected in that quarter received daily accessions. Instead, however, of animating them by his presence, Stanislaus called together a council of war composed of persons whose views coincided with his

own. This council ordered prince Poniatowski to withdraw the different corps from their positions and to fall back to the Bug, for the purpose of concentrating all the Polish forces in the neighbourhood of Warsaw. Thus an army of 60,000 men, burning with ardour for the fight, was obliged to retire, as though afraid to meet the invaders. The prince was thunderstruck when he received the orders of the king: he ventured to remonstrate, but only drew upon himself reproofs, accompanied with a positive command to defend only the passage of the Bug. As that river is extremely easy to cross at numerous points, and it was impossible to defend them all, the chiefs of the army thought these orders of the king quite as incomprehensible as his political conduct appeared to every enlightened observer.

In compliance, however, with the order to retreat, the three divisions of the Polish army in the Ukraine formed a junction near Polonna. In the various skirmishes, which could not be avoided, fortune was variable; but, when the superior force of the Russians did procure them the victory, they purchased it dearly, for the Poles fought with desperation. Convincing proofs of their valour were exhibited in the action at Zielence on the 18th of June, and likewise in that at Polonna: but it was at Dubienca on the 17th of July that their undaunted intrepidity and patriotism were more particularly displayed under the gallant Kosciusko. His division was opposed to a Russian corps of twice their number, and did not quit their position till they were turned by the Russians, who crossed the frontiers of Gallicia, and attacked them on a side from which, as a neutral country, they imagined that they had nothing to fear. This action, which cost the Russians 4,000 men, added to the laurels won by Kosciusko in the war of American independence, and was a prelude to the extraordinary efforts made two years afterwards by

that great man to avenge the honour and to assert the independence of his country.

In Lithuania the progress of the Russians was equally rapid, the Poles retiring before them towards Warsaw. Two or three actions took place during this retreat, but of so little importance, as not to deserve particular mention. When half Poland was thus abandoned by the troops, and other resources began to fail, the king ordered his nephew to demand an armistice; but the Russian generals refused it, alleging that application must be made to Petersburg.

On the entrance of the Russians into the Ukraine, the Polish nobles in the interest of the empress formed a confederation at Targowiça, and promulgated an act by which they pretended to annul the new constitution and all the proceedings of the diet subsequent to its establishment. A similar confederation was formed at Wilna for the grand-duchy of Lithuania, through the influence of the Kossakowski family, and this was united in the sequel to that of Targowiça. In opposition to these proceedings, however, the inhabitants of Lithuania issued an energetic proclamation, breathing a spirit of the purest patriotism, denouncing the grievances and oppressions which they had to endure from their invaders, and declaring their firm determination to defend the new constitution and the independence of their country.

The obstinacy with which Stanislaus adhered to his purpose of not leaving Warsaw, and repairing to the camp; the orders which he had sent to the army to retreat; the choice of persons immediately about him whose patriotism was very equivocal; the presence of the Russian and Prussian ambassadors, who seemed to act in concert and to take advantage of the weakness of the king's character—all appeared to denote a speedy dissolution of the government.

In vain had Straislaus written on the 22nd of June to the empress Catherine, proposing that she should appoint a successor to him, and place the grand-duke Constantine on the throne of Poland: he was upbraided, by way of reply, with having broken the *pacta conventa*, and most urgently admonished to accede to the confederation of Targowiça.

Alarmed by this letter, and threatened by the Russian ambassador, who signified to him verbally the final will of his mistress, the king summoned to him on the 22nd of July his ministers, the two marshals of the diet, and his two brothers. He acquainted this council with his determination to sign the act of confederation of Targowiça, that is to say, of the traitors to the country, in order, as he alleged, to preserve Poland from another partition. Almost all the members of the council had previously guessed his intention, which several of them combated in speeches full of energy and patriotism, but to no purpose. On the following day the king signed the act of confederation.

This event produced universal consternation. The army murmured aloud; and the marshals of the diet quitted Warsaw, leaving behind them a solemn protest: while all who possessed large estates, had numerous families, or whose private affairs would not permit them to quit the country, were compelled to follow the king's example. Poland now wore a most melancholy aspect. Its capital, a few months since a brilliant scene of joy and happiness, was plunged into grief and mourning. The silence of death every where prevailed, and in every face were impressed chagrin, discontent, despair.

During this brief struggle of the Poles for their national independence, so general a sympathy was excited in their behalf in Great Britain, that a public subscription was set on foot, and supported by all the most respec-

table persons in the nation, for the purpose of assisting their efforts. If the precipitate submission of Stanislaus frustrated the design, the fact, nevertheless, is worthy of record, as one among the many proofs exhibited by the English of their abhorrence of injustice, and their readiness to aid those who are suffering from oppression and tyranny.

From the moment that the king subscribed the act of confederation, the inhabitants of all the provinces were required to accede to it. Every one, the king himself not excepted, was forced to declare that he regarded the proceedings of the constitutional diet as despotic acts; that he considered the new confederation as the saviour of Poland, and the empress Catherine as the pillar of Polish liberty. The 15th of August was fixed for the term, beyond which signatures should not be accepted. All the officers, even subalterns and soldiers, who were suspected of attachment to the constitution of the 3rd of May, were dismissed from the army: the rest were separated into small divisions, which were surrounded by more numerous bodies of Russian troops. Many military men were discharged unpaid; the distinctions of honour, which they had earned with their blood, were taken from them; and the guard of all the arsenals was committed to the Russians.

The confederates instituted a *generalité*, which was to be the central point of all operations. In the Polish provinces, Felix Potocki, Rzewuski, and Branicki, superintended its composition, and in Lithuania the Kossakowski. The choice fell upon men known for base and servile submission to their superiors. Like all others of that class, they were equally distinguished by their arbitrary acts, and by a most revolting abuse of their power. They set out with declaring all the decrees of the last diet invalid. The police-commission was suppressed; that of war was

deprived of all authority over the army, which was transferred to two grand-generals. The public civil officers appointed by the diet were displaced; the regular courts of justice were broken up, and tribunals of the confederation appointed in their stead; these durst not pass any sentences, unless agreeably to the instructions which they received; and, though the choice of the members must have satisfied the *generalité* respecting their decisions, still it reserved to itself the final appeal. Though it incessantly spoke and pretended to act in the name of liberty, it prohibited upon severe penalties the printing of any thing reflecting upon the ordinances and regulations issued by itself.

Malachowski, marshal of the diet, Ignatius Potocki, who was endued with all the qualities that constitute the accomplished statesman, and Kollontay, who with a highly cultivated mind and brilliant administrative talents combined an enterprising character, were cited before this *generalité:* but the universal indignation excited by their conduct deterred those tools of foreign despotism from further proceedings. They prosecuted, nevertheless, their other plans, and did their utmost to expunge not only all traces but likewise the very remembrance of the constitution of the 3rd of May.

It is scarcely to be presumed that the three authors of the confederation of Targowiça, Felix Potocki, Rzewuski, and Branicki, meant to sacrifice their country from motives of private interest; for all three enjoyed honours and wealth, which left them nothing to covet. Wounded self-love, ambition, false notions respecting the true interests of Poland, apprehensions lest the innovations introduced there should affect their fortunes, and, lastly, extravagant ideas of the power of Russia, and the confidence which they placed in the generosity of the empress, and the interest which she appeared to take in the welfare

of their country, were probably the motives which caused them to act as they did. If their conduct was not on this ground the less criminal, still it must be admitted that far fewer outrages occurred in the Polish provinces than in Lithuania, where the Kossakowski committed all sorts of excesses. In justice also to Felix Potocki, it is right to add that he was incensed at the personal revenge which was wreaked, but which it was not in his power to hinder.

The chiefs of the confederation had received an assurance from Petersburg that the Russian army in Poland should only be employed in the restoration of order, and that no new partition was contemplated. Still the direction which that army began to take in its march, and the care with which it avoided Great Poland, awakened a suspicion that there must exist some specific agreement between Russia and Prussia; nor was it long before this suspicion was changed to certainty by the advance of the Prussian troops, while the Russians made no movement to prevent it.

On the 10th of December the *generalité* despatched a letter of complaint to Petersburg, and meanwhile assured the Poles that the great evils which they had to endure from the presence of the Russian troops were to be ascribed solely to the constitutional diet, that the atrocities perpetrated by the soldiers were but temporary, and that the Russian army would retire as soon as the republican constitution was restored. Of this Felix Potocki seemed so thoroughly convinced, that he urged and effected the appointment of a deputation to frame this republican constitution, which was to give back to the Poles their freedom and the rights of their ancestors.

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